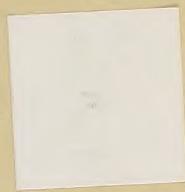


The  
HISTORY  
of the  
ART  
of  
WRITING

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS LL.D.

Part II.  
CLASSICAL SERIES





FOLIO II. & PLATES 51-100c

Development of the Greek and Latin Scripts

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CHAPTER XI

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## CHAPTER XI

### GREEK & EPIGRAPHY

The plates of this chapter illustrate some of the earliest forms of Greek writing that have come down to us, and they are particularly valuable for comparison with the Phoenician characters which appear in Chapter VII of this work.

Plate 51 is introduced because of the Greek inscription of the seventh century B.C., which was said to have been inscribed by some Greek mercenaries in the army of King Psammetichus of Egypt on the leg of one of the colossal statues at Abu Simbel in Nubia. This is the earliest Greek inscription known.

Plates 52 and 53 are illustrations of Greek inscriptions of a later period, but still antedating any manuscript on less permanent material that has been preserved.

Plates 54 and 55 are inscriptions from Asia Minor, dating from the period of Roman influence. Plate 56 is a comparatively modern inscription, introduced here to show the relatively slight changes that monumental Greek underwent during the seventeen centuries that separate this inscription from the inscription of Abu Simbel.



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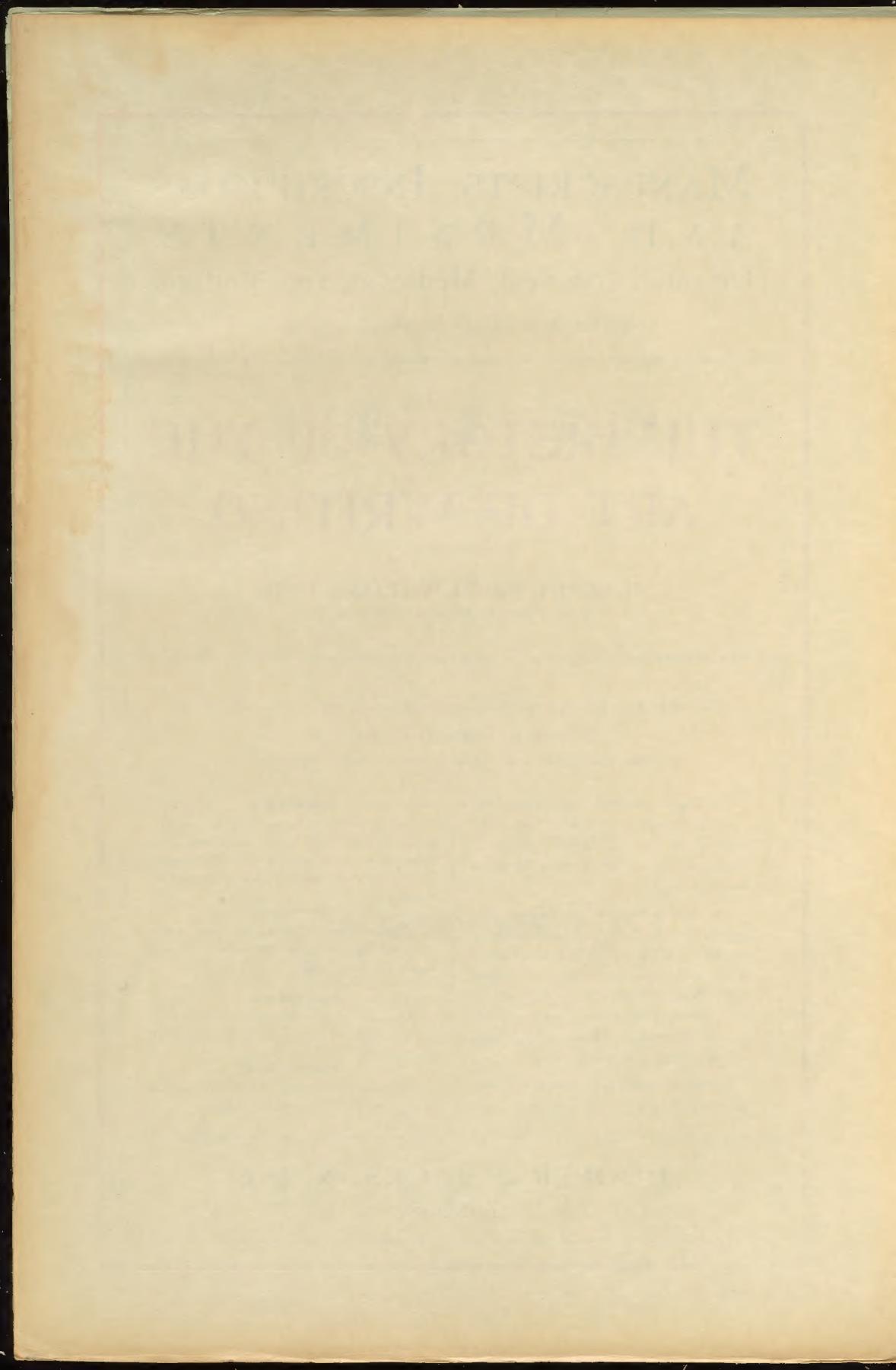
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### DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK AND LATIN SCRIPTS

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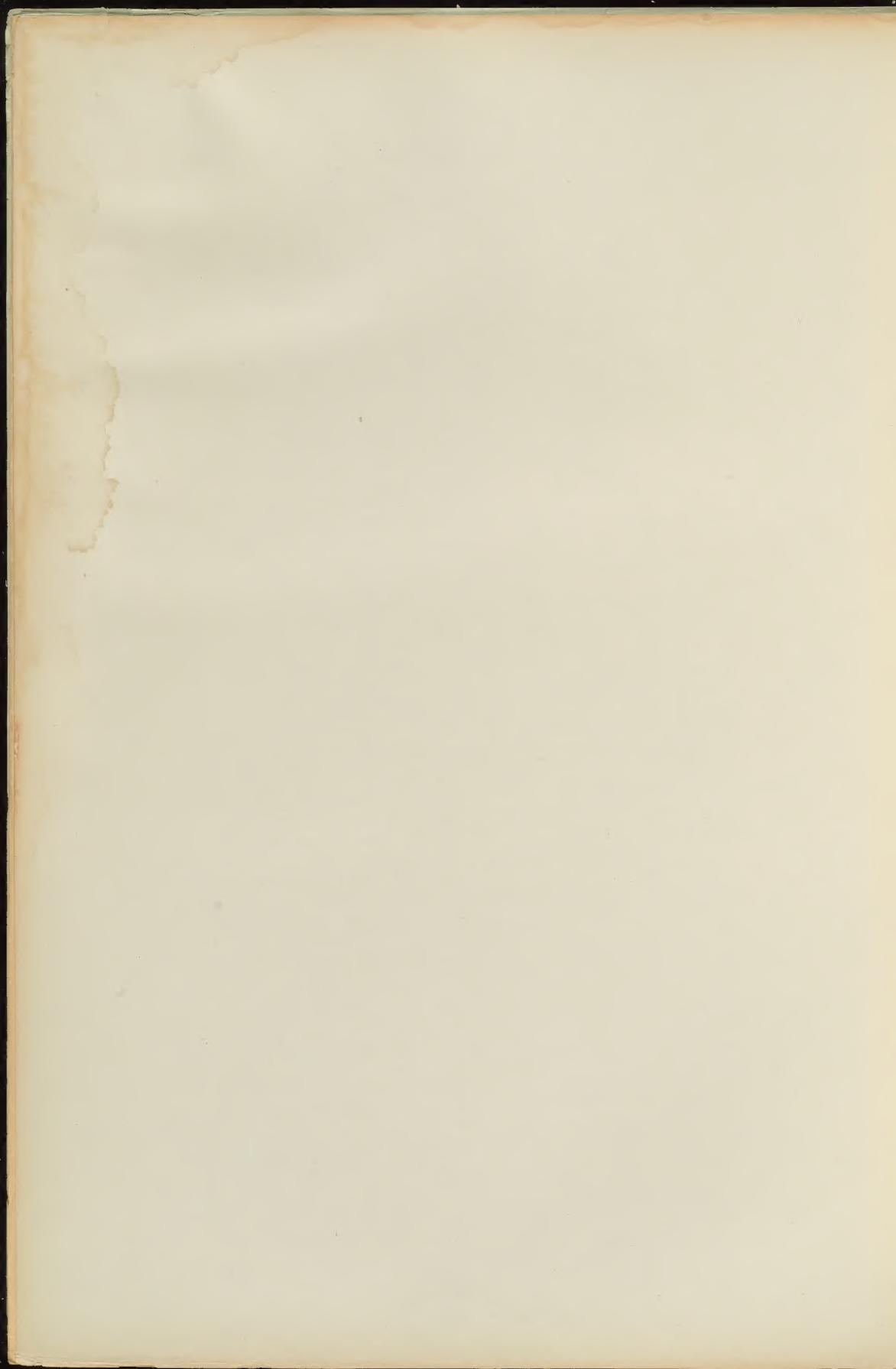
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Now, as every one knows, the time when art was great in Greece was the fifth century B.C.; but this inscription of the mercenaries on the statue of Rameses at Abu Simbel antedates the Age of Pericles by about two centuries, and remains to this day as a standing proof that the art of writing was by no means unknown among the Greeks for at least eight generations before the time when the graphic arts reached their culmination. Mr. Paley would, indeed, make a sharp distinction between epigraphic inscriptions and writing on papyrus or wax, but the logicality of such a contention is not obvious. The mercenary who carved his name and the account of his doings on this rock of Abu Simbel could obviously have written the same record on wax or scribbled it on papyrus with at least equal facility. It must be admitted, then, that this inscription is the most telling argument for the general diffusion of the knowledge of writing among Greeks of the seventh century B.C.

It has been urged that the mercenary soldier surely does not represent a high type of the race, and that, if this manner of man could write, the capacity must have been all but universal.

But it will not do to press this argument too far. It must not be forgotten that the business of a soldier held high rank in Greece, that men of the highest intellectual attainments followed it; that, indeed, it was virtually the only active calling open to a free man. Thus Aeschylus, when he was at Marathon, might have scribbled some verses in honor of the victory which he had helped to achieve; but had he done so, that would hardly serve as a proof that every Greek, even the common soldier of that day, could fall readily into poetry.

It may be urged that Aeschylus was not a mercenary, and that there is a wide distinction between fighting for one's home and going out to fight alien battles for pay; but the ready reply presents itself that in the year 400 B.C. the philosopher and littérateur Xenophon, the pupil and eulogist of Socrates, was with the band of mercenary Greeks who followed Cyrus the Younger to the fatal field of Cunaxa, and no one need be reminded that the *Anabasis*, one of the most familiar of Greek classics, was the result. Xenophon was not a leader of the troops in the early days of the campaign. According to his own account, he was a subordinate who came forward after the death of the leaders; but it does not follow that every other man in the ranks could have written the *Anabasis*.

How can we make sure that the two scribes of Abu Simbel who jointly wrote the famous inscription were not as superior to their fellows as Xenophon to his associates of the Ten Thousand? For ought we know to the contrary, the main body of the fellow soldiers of these scribes may have sat about watching the effort with bated breath, utterly unable to make head or tail of the strange characters. The inscription may have been "all Greek" to them quite in the modern sense of the phrase. As against this view, however, it should be added that, besides this principal inscription on the Abu Simbel colossus, there are several other briefer ones consisting of the names, apparently, of various soldiers, that are believed to have been made at the same time; nor can it be urged that these others were merely learning from the scholarly pair how to write their names, since part of these inscriptions are written with a different alphabet.

Allowing all possible weight to these and similar objections, the fact remains that some Greeks at least could write in the seventh century B.C., and Canon Taylor has ably urged that the alphabet here employed shows divergencies from the Phenician that seem to speak unequivocally of several centuries of independent growth and development.

The Abu Simbel inscription has suffered so little from effects of climate that there is but little uncertainty as to its actual reading. The letters measure about two inches in height and are deeply chiselled into the stone. A copy of the original text, greatly reduced, is given below, followed by a transliteration into modern Greek characters and an English translation as given by Canon Isaac Taylor in his *History of the Alphabets*, London, 1899 (new edition), vol. ii, p. 11.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΕΛΕΦΘΡΙΝΑΝΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ  
ΑΝΑΤΑΞΕΓΡΑΥΑΝΤΟΙΣΥΝΨΑΜΜΑΤΙΧΟΤΟΙΣΕΦΚΝΟΣ  
ΕΠ ΝΕΟΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΛΕΚΕΡΚΙΟΣ ΚΑΤΙΓΡΕΔΕ Ε ΥΙΟΠΟΤΑ ΜΟΣ  
ΑΝΙ ΒΑΛΟΓΡΟΣΟΒΑΤ Ε ΠΟΤΑΣΙΜΤΟ ΔΙΝΥΤΙΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΜΑΣΙΣ  
ΕΓΡΑΦΦΕΔΑΜΕΑΡΥΟΝΑΜΟΙΒΙΧ Ο ΚΑΙ ΠΕΛΕΦΡΟΣ ΟΥΔΑΜΟ

βασιλεός θεοντος εις Ελεφατίνην ψηματικό<sup>ν</sup>  
ταῦτα σρόνια τα εν φαντακοῖς τα θεοκλέζεται,  
επλεω, γέλω & Κέρκος καταπέθεται να ο ποταμός  
απο, αλεύδων ἔνθη Πελεγάμα, Αργυτόν & Αμαντό-  
εγραφε δια μέρη Αρχον Αρμαθίου, και Ηλένεις οιδέμα.

"When King Psammatichos came to Elephantina, those who were with Psammatichos, the son of Theokles, wrote this. They sailed and came above Kerkis as far as the river permitted. Potasimto led the foreigners, and Amasis the Egyptians. The writer was Archon, the son of Amoiichos, and Peleqos, son of Eudamos."

PLATE 51. EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS OF THE GREAT  
TEMPLE AT ABU SIMBEL IN NUBIA

Built by Rameses II about B.C. 1300

**I**N the year 1813 the celebrated traveller Burckhardt discovered an extraordinary temple at Abu Simbel in Nubia, which was subsequently excavated by Belzoni in 1817, the sand having largely covered its entrance. The statues then brought to light proved to be among the most remarkable of Egyptian monuments. They are colossal portraits of Rameses II, which, as seated, measure sixty-five feet in height to the top of the caps. The head of one of these statues had fallen, probably some centuries before, but the others were intact, and remain to this day among the most interesting memorials of the glories of ancient Egypt.

The temple itself—these statues guarding its doorway—consists of a series of rooms carved in the solid rock, and themselves ornamented with colossal statues, as well as with carved inscriptions, and a famous painting in which Rameses II is shown vanquishing the Hittites. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Mr. David Roberts, R.A., the distinguished artist, visited the temple and made the drawings from which the present plate is reproduced. The published account that accompanied his pictures contains the following paragraph :

"Roberts in his journal complains indignantly of the way in which 'Cockney tourists and Yankee travellers' have knocked off a toe or a finger of these magnificent statues. 'The hand,' he says, 'of the finest of them has been destroyed—not an easy matter, since Wilkinson says the forefinger is four feet long—by these relic hunters, who have also been led by their vanity to smear their vulgar names on the very foreheads of the Egyptian deities.'"

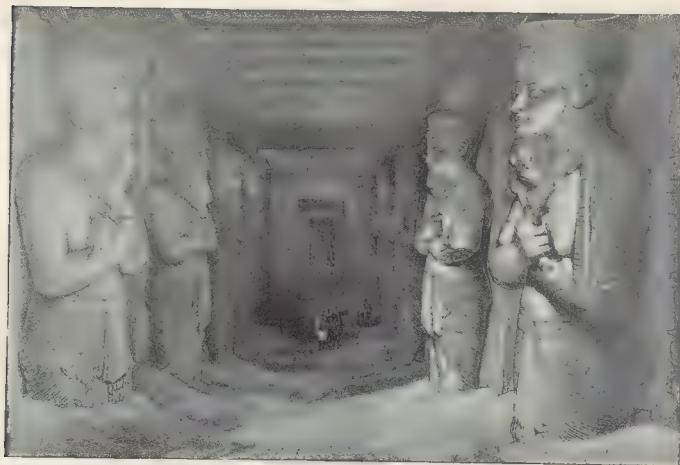
Subsequent observation of these monuments has shown that it was not Cockney tourists or Yankee travellers who were the first desecrators here. It appears, on the other hand, that the custom of "smearing vulgar names" upon the statue of the greatest of Egyptian warriors was entered upon some twenty-six centuries earlier, since a closer inspection has revealed on the knee of one of the statues an inscription in archaic Greek said to have been written by two soldiers who were with the army of King Psammetichus, and therefore dating from about B.C. 664.

Little did these Greek mercenaries suspect, as they desecrated the statue with their inconsequential scrawl, that they were making a record that would be treasured by scholars in distant lands after twenty-five hundred years, and would be regarded then as fundamental in determining some of the most interesting questions as to Greek culture, over which scholars had wrangled for generations.

Had Herodotus visited the colossi of Abu Simbel he might, very likely, have been moved to virtuous indignation over the act of vandalism which thus marred the statue, and have used some such language about his countrymen as Roberts hurled at the Cockney tourists and Yankee travellers. But time changes the point of view, and to-day the students of Greek archaeology and philology, far from heaping abuse upon the authors of this vandalism, are rather disposed to rise up and call them blessed. For, as it now transpires, the idle scrawl of the soldiers of Psammetichus was destined to be preserved after all other examples of Greek writing then in existence had disappeared from human ken. As it stands to-day, this brief inscription shows us the Greek alphabet in the oldest form known to us. It is the most ancient non-Semitic piece of alphabetical writing extant.

There are several reasons why a peculiar interest attaches to this earliest specimen of Greek writing. But perhaps the one of greatest popular importance is that it throws a new light on the long-mooted question as to the time when the art of writing was introduced into Greece. The current legend, as recited in the oft-quoted passage of Herodotus, tells us that Cadmus introduced the Phoenician alphabet into Greece; but, needless to say, the Father of History, in reciting this tradition, gives no clue to the exact date when the mythical Cadmus conferred this great blessing upon the Greek race. Since the revival of interest in classical writings, the question has often been raised as to just when the first Greek writings were made, and in particular as to whether the Homeric poems existed in written form from an early date, or were, on the other hand, merely passed on orally from one generation to another until a comparatively late period. Mr. F. A. Paley, among others representing a large school of conservative scholars, long contended that the art of writing was of late introduction. He even went so far as to say that he doubted "very much indeed if such a thing as a written copy of Homer (whatever the name then included) existed in all Hellas at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War."

He fortified his belief with the allegation that no words to express pen, ink, book, paper, and the like are known to have existed in Greek till close upon the age of Plato. He did, indeed, admit the probability that Herodotus, the earliest of the great prose writers, actually wrote his book; contending, however, that such transcript was made purely for the use of the author himself, and that no copy of the work was made for general distribution until a much later period, the explicit contention being that throughout the classical period of Greece, including the Age of Pericles, the capacity to read and write was a very rare accomplishment indeed, even among the cultivated Athenians. It was even asserted that "art was great in Greece just in proportion as a written literature was not in circulation."



EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR VIEWS OF THE GREAT  
TEMPLE AT ABU SIMBEL, IN NUBIA.

Built by Rameses II, about 1300 B.C.



PLATE 52. LAKONIAN INSCRIPTION (FIFTH CENTURY B.C.)

British Museum, Greek Inscriptions, CXXXIX.

**A**LL that has just been said about the prevalence of the knowledge of the art of writing in Greece at an early date is further emphasized by such an inscription as this from Lakonia in the southeast of the Peloponnesus.

It is the record of the consecration of a slave named Kleogenes by his master, Theareas, to the god Poseidon. It is said that this act, by which the slave became a servant of the god, "may be considered as almost enfranchisement, the light service of the temple replacing the hard toil of slavery." The Ephoras, mentioned in the inscription, is probably an officer of the temple, and Epakoo a witness.

The inscription was engraved on a small stele of white marble measuring  $22\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and was found in 1880 in the ruins in the Temple of Poseidon on Cape Taenarus in Lakonia. As an illustration of an official document, common enough among the Assyrian records, but rarely preserved in Greece, this document has a peculiar interest.

Four similar inscriptions were found on the same site, and the one shown in our plate was presented to the British Museum by S. F. Mullen shortly after its discovery. The inscription is fully described by Sir C. T. Newton in the *Catalogue of the Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part II, London, 1883, p. 3. It is also described among the Palaeographical Society's *Fac-similes*.

A study of the alphabetical characters employed shows that epsilon represents both long and short e, and omicron long and short o. Theta has the ancient crossed form, similar to that found in most primitive scripts, but sigma is of a less ancient development. In the name of Δαρεος, φ=x. This was a peculiarity of the writing in the mainland and western colonies, as was also x being used for t.

In the name of the god, on the second line, the third sign marks a rough breathing. This peculiar sign also occurs between two vowels in Lakonian dialects. A similar sign may be seen on Plate 59.

According to Kirchhoff (*Studien*, 3d Edition, p. 145, pl. II, cl. 7) this inscription cannot have been written earlier than the 76th Olympiad, or about B.C. 476-473.

Following is a transcription of the original into modern characters, followed by the inscription in literary form:

ΑΝΕΩΣΚΕ  
ΤΟΙ ΠΟΘΟΙΔΑ  
ΟΡΑΠΕΣ  
ΚΑΕΟΤΗΝΔΑ  
ΕΦΟΦΟΣ  
ΔΔΙΟΦΟΣ  
ΕΠΙΑΚΟ ΑΡΙΟΑΥΟΝ

\*Ανέωσκε τῷ Πατέρῳ[ν] θεῖσαι Κλεόγενε.  
\*Εφόροι Δαρεος ἵνα εο[ντι] αριολαυητοι.





LAKONIAN INSCRIPTION  
BY ENEVEX

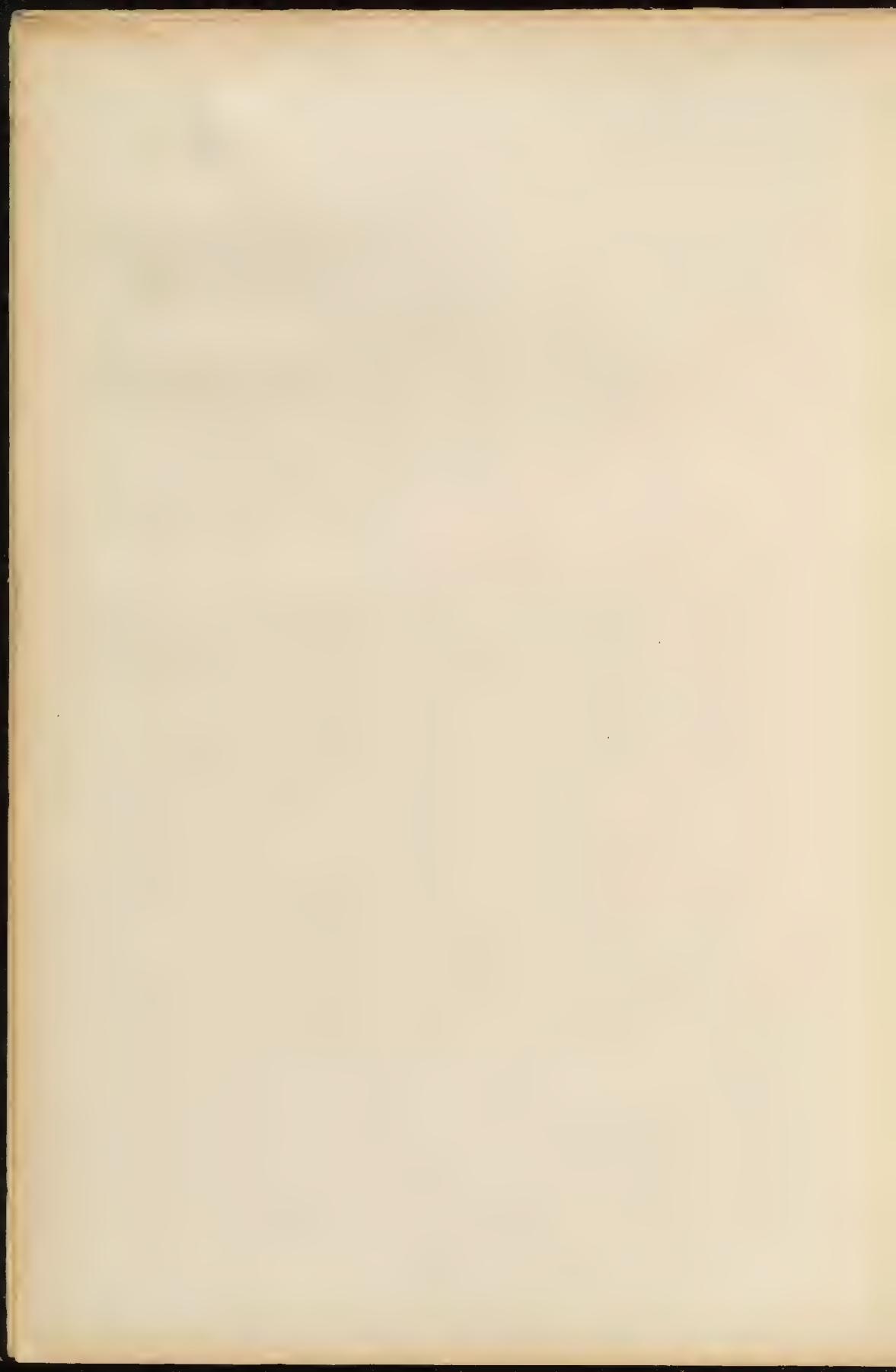


PLATE 53. GREEK INSCRIPTION OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C., FROM ATHENS

PERHAPS a more telling argument for the prevalence of a knowledge of the art of writing, or at least of the capacity to read, in the Greece of the Golden Age is presented in this tablet from Athens, which actually dates from the age of Pericles.

This inscription, referring to the erection of a public building, must have been intended to serve the purpose of a modern bill-board, or of an official announcement in a modern newspaper. Unless a considerable number of people in the community were able to read, it would seem an inane thing to issue such a proclamation.

With such evidence as this before us, it would seem that all question as to the practice of writing in the Golden Age of Greece must be set at rest. There is, indeed, no reason to suppose that the average citizen of Athens could read and write, even though the word "average" implies a very high level of culture. One may readily enough suppose that the scarcity of writing materials, the relative newness of the art of writing itself, and the habits of the people, which implied a constant intercommunication, and, as is well known, teaching by example and by oral discourse—that all these things may have tended to retard the knowledge of reading and writing not merely during, but long after, the age of Pericles. Even if many of the free citizens of Athens were able to read and write, it must still be remembered that the great bulk of the Athenian populace consisted of slaves; and one will hold a truer view if he pictures to himself among all ancient peoples the scribe—that is to say, the person with a knowledge of writing as the exceptional citizen.

Universal education is a strictly modern development. Half the women of England could make only their mark in signing the marriage contract in the middle of the nineteenth century. But, on the other hand, however unusual it may have been for the average person to have any knowledge of letters, it is surely going quite too far when one is asked to believe that books did not exist at all in Greece until about the time of Plato, in the fifth century B.C.

It seems absurd to suggest that the most highly cultured people of antiquity persistently rejected the use of the art of writing for centuries after a knowledge of that art had been forced upon their attention through its practice by Egyptians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Persians, and even minor nations with which they came in contact. It is quite true that no books of ancient Greece have been preserved to us, and only here and there a graven monument; but it is equally true of the latest period of Greek autonomy, when, as is admitted on all hands, books were produced at Athens in abundance.

The climate of Greece is not conducive to the preservation of records, and as the Greek books were not

written on the imperishable materials employed by the Babylonians, they naturally disappeared, just as the great bulk of written and printed matter disappears now in the course of a few generations.

We shall see presently that the only early specimens of Greek writing not epigraphic that have been preserved to us were found, like the oldest monumental inscriptions in that language, in Egypt.

Description of the Plate

[British Museum, Room of Greek and Latin Inscriptions, No. 35.]

The plate represents a slab of white marble inscribed with a report drawn up in the year 409 B.C., by commissioners appointed to inquire into the progress of the building of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis of Athens. This building was a temple erected toward the close of the fifth century B.C. in the poorest and most characteristic style of Ionic architecture.

The height of the slab is 3 feet 6½ inches, and its breadth is 1 foot 8 inches. The inscription is somewhat damaged at the foot.

The following details of the inscrip. have been derived from S. C. T. Newton's Catalogue of the Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.

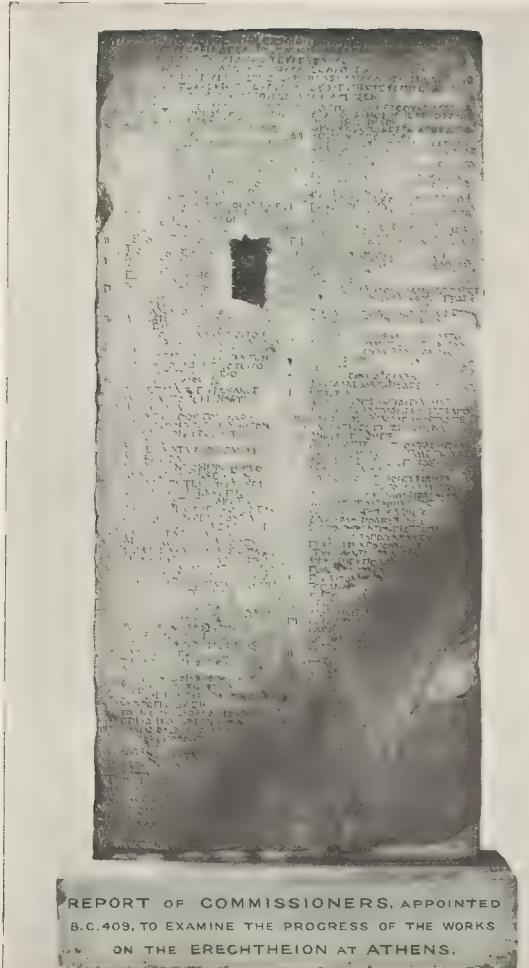
Line 1. There is no Greek name known to begin with ΕΡΩΣ- or ΕΡΩΣ-; but the letter Ε is quite common. The Ν is probably ΝΙ, and the Ζ, ΖΙ, may be read both ways. Like the Nubian and Semitic *zayidat*, the imperfect is usually employed. The writing of this inscription is not *eryxos*. In lines 15, 22, 26, 47, 50, 75, 77, 81, 85, 90, 93, and 99 of the left column, and in lines 11, 16, 23, 73, 80, 93, and 99 of the right column, a horizontal stroke is employed for the purpose of marking the commencement of a fresh entry. Perhaps such strokes were used originally throughout this document, but have now, through the wear of the stone, become confused with the tops and bottoms of lines. Line 70, col. 1. The lapidary has written ΤΟΛΑΓΑΙΛΟΝ, ΤΟΛΑΓΑΙΛΟΝ, ΤΟΛΑΓΑΙΛΟΝ, ΤΟΛΑΓΑΙΛΟΝ, so far as ΤΟΔ, mistook this A for the third A of *τερψης*, and finished accordingly. Line 72, col. 1. Beckh is probably wrong in supposing anything to have been lost at the end of this line and the next. The reading is certainly ΔΙ and not ΑΥΤΟ. Line 79, col. 1. The reading is ΟΥΕΧΟ, not ΟΥΕΚΟ, as also in line 95, col. 2. This was perhaps the popular spelling, after the failure of *eryxos* and similar words' whence *perwos* is derived, as from φέω, φένειν.

The writing has reference to the temple of Athena Polias, which was burnt during the Persian War, B.C. 490, and restored in the time of Pericles. Immediately after its restoration it was partially consumed by fire in the archonship of Kallias, a.c. 406. We learn from the preamble of the present inscription that this edifice was still unfinished B.C. 409, and that a survey of the state of the work was then made by a set of commissioners, who, in spite of the remissness of the architect, Dikles, by a decree of the demes. Such a survey, called *ēkousia*, usually took place when a building was brought to completion; but here it seems to have been ordered previously on account of undue delay in the completion of the work. It may be assumed that the temple named in the inscription now under consideration as containing "the archaic statue of the goddess" is the one still standing on the Athenian Acropolis. The details of the survey are as follows:

In the comparison of two passages of Pausanias it may be inferred that on this site stood two temples, one dedicated to Athena Polias, the other to Athena Pandrosos, which, being under one roof, are styled by Pausanias *θεοῦδεις στεῖλαι*; and that this double temple was commonly called the Erechtheion, there having been a tradition that Erechtheus was buried on this site.

The epistola were to be appointed to superintend public works. It is to be presumed that this epistola here mentioned was specially appointed to superintend the building of the Erechtheion. The survey was ordained by a decree of the demes by which the epistola were directed to describe the works as *εργάσια σφεντα*, "in the state in which they found them, completed or unfinished." The date of this decree is the archonship of Dikles, B.C. 409.





GREEK INSCRIPTION OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

British Museum

From Athens



PLATE 54. GREEK INSCRIPTION OF THE  
THIRD CENTURY B.C.

British Museum, Room of Greek and Latin Inscriptions,  
Nos. 399 402

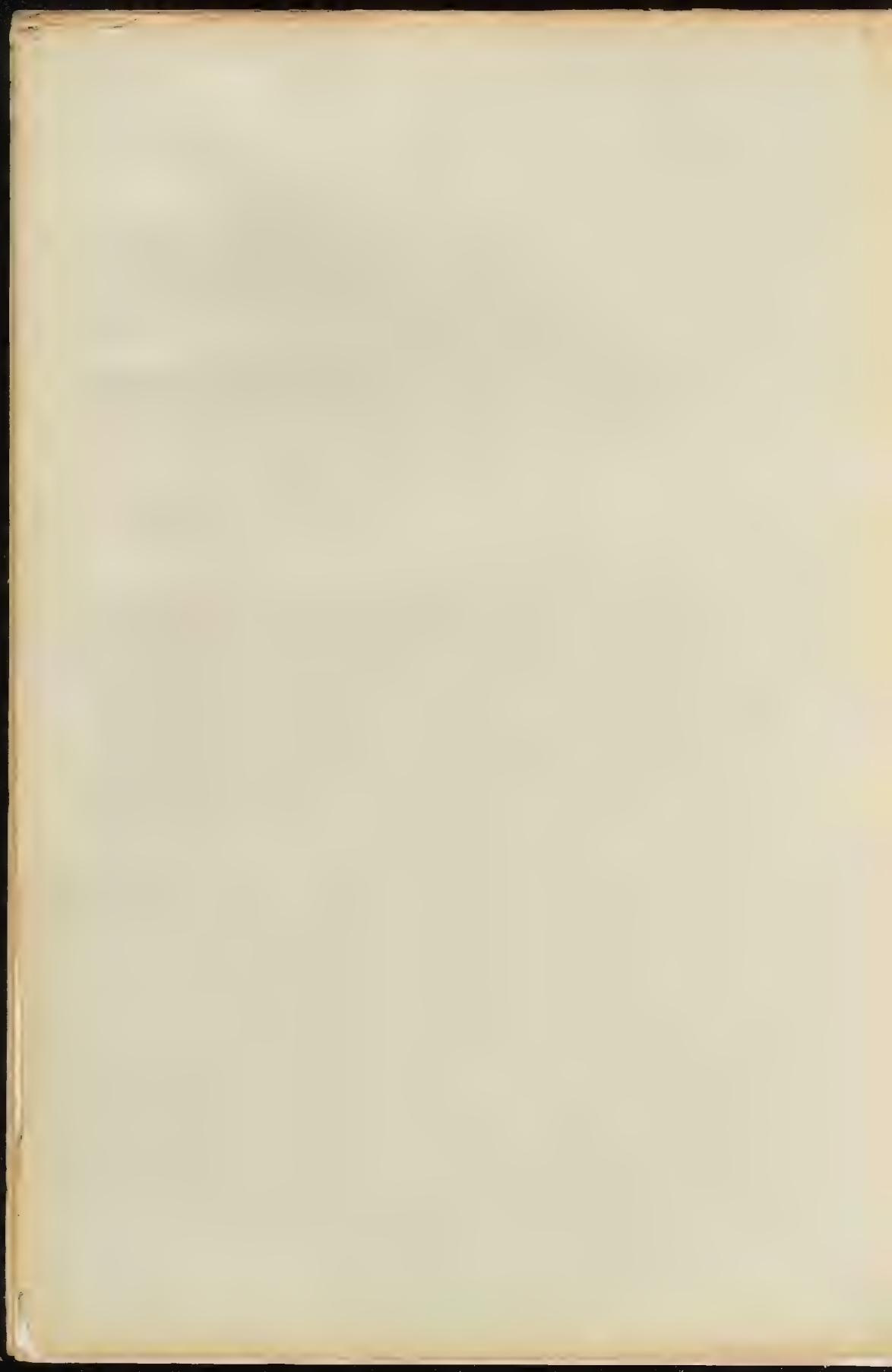
**T**HIS inscription, large fragments of which are preserved in the British Museum, is very interesting, both from its general character and from the fact that the letters in which it is inscribed are painted red, closely resembling in this regard certain Egyptian inscriptions.

The plate represents a brief portion of the inscriptions in the Temple of Athena Polias at Prienè having reference to a long-standing dispute between Prienè and Samos as to the ownership of certain lands. The question at issue was the ownership of Karion and its neighborhood, the Samians asserting that the Prienian occupation of them was a modern encroachment. The history of this contention is sketched by Böckh; and by MM. Waddington—Lebas (*Voyage Archéologique*, Pt. v, 186 *et seqq.*).

The inscriptions were engraved on the antæ and on the external face of the walls of the pronaois of the Temple of Athena Polias, the walls being built of large blocks of marble, the joining of which is a beautiful specimen of ancient masonry. The courses of the masonry were arranged throughout so that one narrow course came in after two broad courses. The broad courses vary a trifle from 20 inches; the narrow course is a little under 1 foot wide. This invariable arrangement of the masonry was a datum of the greatest help in determining the arrangement of the inscriptions. For further details of the temple, see description of plate 53.

The portion of the inscription represented on the plate is upon a stone 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 20 inches, upon the right-hand return of one of the antæ of the temple. Several letters of this inscription do not appear in the photograph, owing to their indistinctness on the stone. As an aid to reading the words on the plate, the modern equivalent of the first four lines is given below:

Σάμων παρε . . . οὐ δὲ εἰ μὴ διετέλεσθε . . .  
πονηρῶν τοῦ ληγαράγος. ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο μηδεὶς [εἰδὼ συμφέρειας οὐδέποτε, δηλὼ θί]  
τον Κέραν  
καὶ τὰ τοῦ καρποῦ χώρας οὐδεὶς απορεῖται. [Ἄλλο δὲ τοῦ Σαμωνίου διατετέλει τρίτη  
τοῦ θέατρου  
τὸ Τίβελον συναθίσταται, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ θεάτρου, οὐδὲ μόνον τοῦ θεάτρου, αὐτὸς τοῦ]



ΣΑΜΟΥΤΑΡΕ<sub>1</sub> ΙΩΝΔΕΚΑΙΚΛΘΟΝΙ  
 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΣΥΓΡΟΑΓΗΣΑΡΧΟΥΕΝΑΙΣΥΠΕΡΜΕΝΙΑΙΟΣ  
 ΚΑΙΤΑΣΤΕΡΙΤΟΚΑΡΙΟΝΧΩΡΑΣΟΘΕΙΣΛΑΜΦΕΒΑΤΕΙ  
 ΤΟΝΡΟΔΙΩΝΕΓΚΑΛΟΥΝΤΑΣΟΤΙΧΩΡΑΣΤΕΓΛΗ  
 ΚΑΡΙΟΝΥΤΕΡΟΥΝΤΝΑΙΑΚΡΙΝΕΣΘΑΙΟΔΕΣΑΜΙΟ  
 ΚΑΘΑΚΑΙΕΠΤΑΣΚΡΙΣΤΑΣΥΤΕΡΤΟΥΒΑΤΙΝΗΤΟΥΑΓ  
 ΤΟΚΑΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΑΓΕΡΙΤΟΥΤΟΧΩΡΑΑΥΤΟΙΣ  
 ΧΩΡΑΝΛΑΧΕΙΝΑΥΤΟΪΚΑΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΔΡΥΟΥΣΛΑΝΚΛΤΑ  
 ΔΗΣΙΟΥΣΤΟΡΙΑΙΣΚΑΤΑΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΑΔΙΟΤΙΛΑΧ  
 ΤΑΝΤΕΝΟΜΕΝΑΝΑΥΤΟΙΣΤΟΓΡΙΑΝΕΙΣΠΙΔΡΥΚΑΙΝΙΚΑΣΚΡΙΣ  
 ΑΥΤΩΝΤΕΝΕΣΘΑΙΟΡΙΣΑΣΦΑΙΑΡΓΟΤΑΥΤΟΥΣΩΣΥ  
 ΡΟΥΝΤΑΣΔΑ<sub>2</sub> ΤΙΜΕΝΤΟΚΑΡΙΟΝΕΛΑΧΟΝΜΕΤΑ<sub>3</sub> ΟΝΤ  
 ΓΡΙΛΙΝΓ<sub>4</sub> ΥΑΓΩΝΑΤΕΚΑΙΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΝΙΚ<sub>5</sub> ΟΥΡΙ

GREEK INSCRIPTION OF THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

British Museum

From the Temple of Athene Polias at Iasos

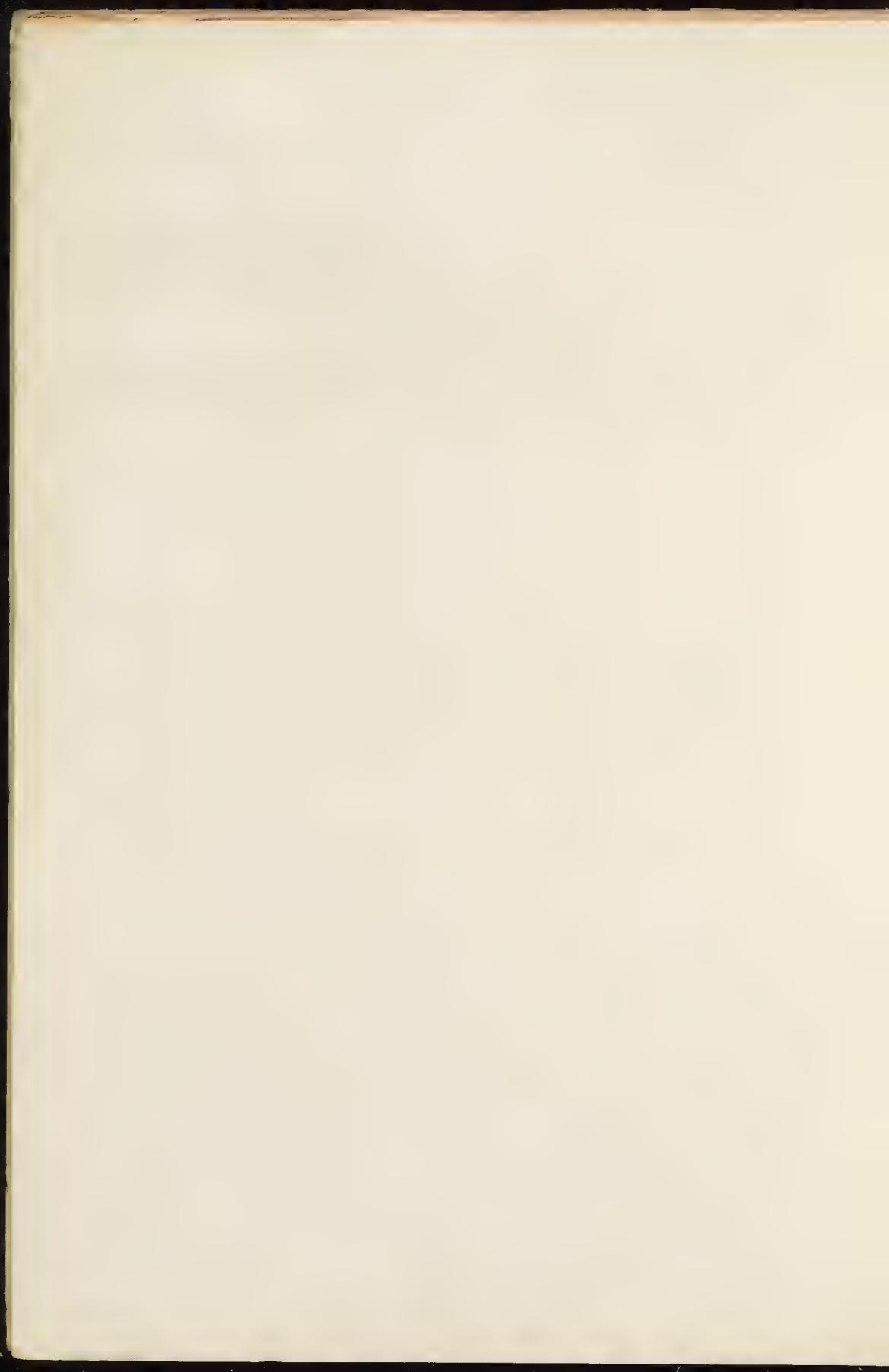


PLATE 55. INSCRIPTION OF C. V. SALUTARIS, A.D. 104

British Museum, Room of Greek and Latin Inscriptions, No. 481

A GREEK inscription which covered a large portion of the wall on the right flank of the south entrance to the great theatre of Ephesus; consisting of a series of public documents relative to bequests—made to the Ephesians by Caius Vibius Salutaris, a Roman knight and naturalized citizen of Ephesus and member of the Boule—of various images, including some of the goddess Artemis, in gold, silver, and other material, and of a capital sum of money to provide annual doles to certain persons. The date of the inscription is fixed by the mention of the consuls for A.D. 104.

The inscription in its present state contains 405 lines arranged in seven columns. There are also several fragments whose position is not ascertained. The plate is taken from a document recording a supplementary bequest by Salutaris, lines 378–387.

A translation by J. T. Wood runs as follows:

"And that all the effigies may remain clean, let it be lawful, whenever required, to have them wiped with plate powder (?) by the person who shall at any time be custodian of the sacred deposits, in the presence of two curators of the temple and a staff-bearer (verger?), but not to have them wiped with any other material, and the remaining eight denarii shall be given annually to the custodian of the sacred deposits for the care of the effigies and the purchase of the earth used for plate powder."

It is conjectured that the plate powder mentioned in this inscription is *creta argentaria*, or wood ashes, as mentioned by Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis*, xxxv, 5, 26.

The Temple of Diana at Ephesus, on the walls of which this inscription was written, was one of the most famous buildings of antiquity; not alone because of the worship of which it was the centre, but architecturally as well. It was of enormous dimensions: 425 feet long by 220 feet wide, and had 127 columns, each 60 feet high.

The first temple had been built before the Persian War, and was burnt down, so it was alleged, in the night when Alexander the Great was born. The devout people of Western Asia joined forces and erected a new temple immediately. This temple gradually fell into ruins after about the third century A.D., and no traces remain of it to the present day.

Ephesus was a city of Ionians situated on the west coast of Asia Minor, almost exactly opposite the Island of Samos. The name of the city is peculiarly familiar because of the location there of a branch of the early Christian Church, to which St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians was addressed.

It appears that the donations of Salutaris, to which our present inscription refers, mark the reaction against Christianity, which did not abate until the latter part of the second century. The character of the opposition to Christianity at Ephesus is well shown in the familiar passage of Acts xix, 24 *et seq.*:

"For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen;

"Whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said,

Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth.

"Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands:

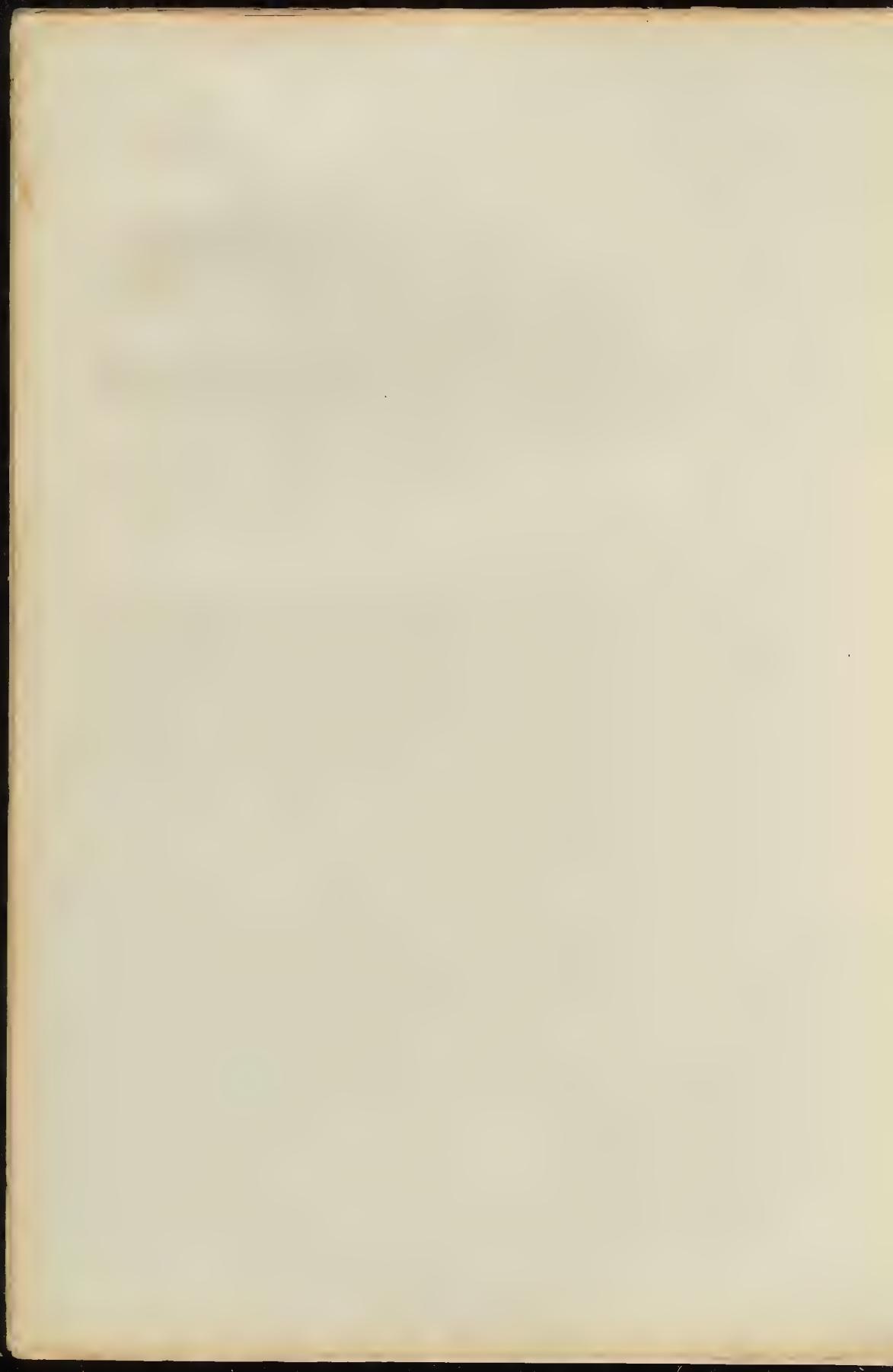
"So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.

"And when they heard these sayings they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

"And the whole city was filled with confusion.

"And when the town clerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter?"

The speech of Demetrius finds a parallel in a Greek inscription in the British Museum, dated 161 A.D., which is a decree beginning with a complaint that the Ephesian goddess, whose worship had hitherto been universally recognized, was now being set at naught in her own native city, so that a similar neglect might be expected to be shown elsewhere. Hence it was enacted that certain days should be holidays dedicated to Artemis.





INSCRIPTION OF C. V. SALUTARIS

(A D 104)

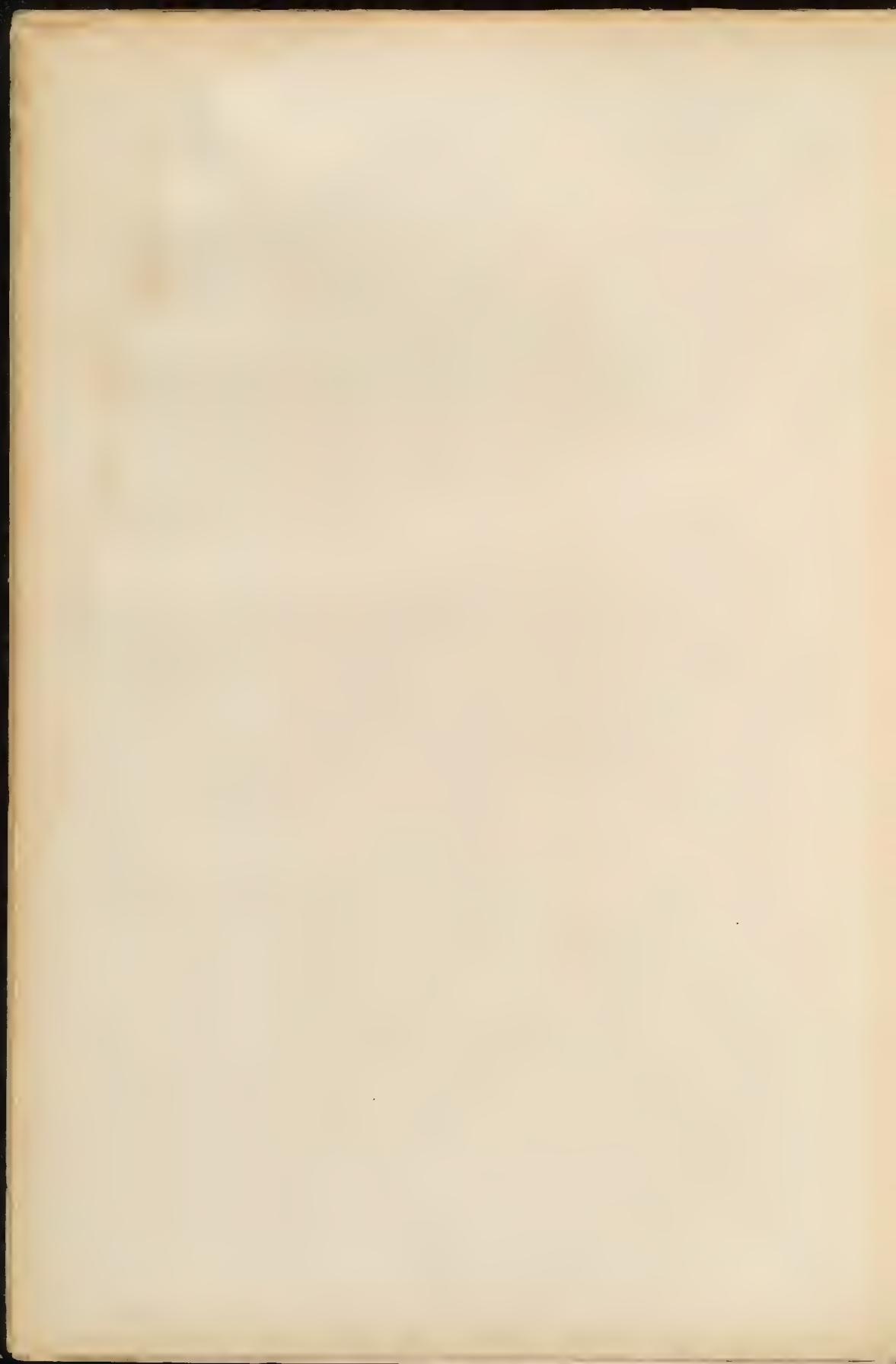


PLATE 56. EPITAPH, A.D. 1007

THE inscription here shown is an epitaph in Greek of Joannes "επαρχος Νοβαe" (Governor of Nubia), who died, aged 48, on the 29th day of the Egyptian month Choiak (26 Dec.) in the year "αρι μαρτυρουσ ιην" i.e. 733 from the epoch of the martyrs of the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 284); that is to say, the year A.D. 1007. This record is of a period 903 years later than the preceding one, and some 1,700 years later than the earliest Abu Simbel inscription.

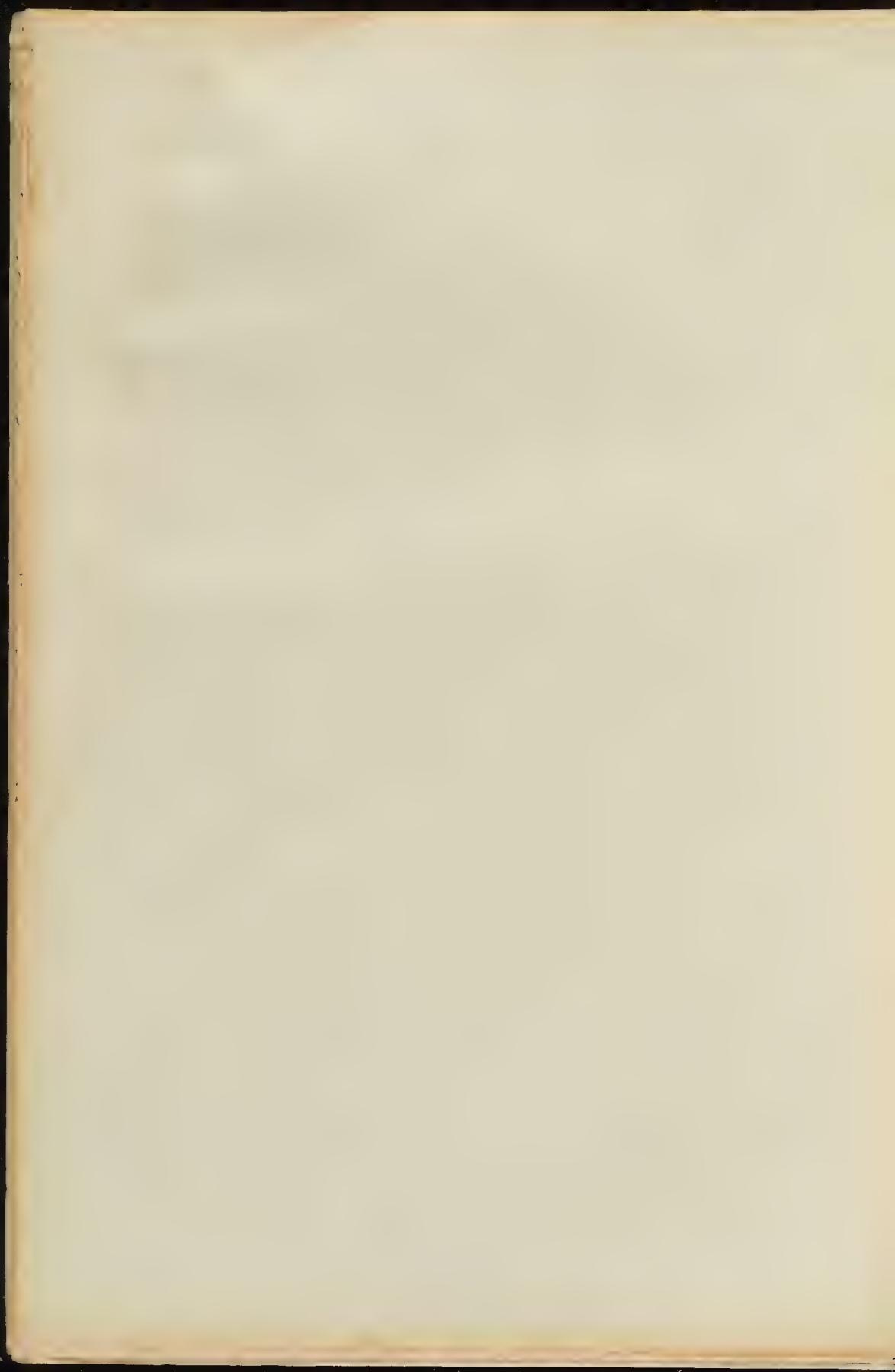
It is introduced here chiefly to show how remarkably conservative throughout this long period the Greek alphabet was as regards change of forms of its letters when employed for monumental purposes. Certain changes do exist, to be sure, but the surprising thing to any one who is familiar with the history of the alphabet is that the changes are so few.

The inscription occupied a space measuring  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$  inches and was engraved on a stele which was once in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Yule, consular chaplain at Alexandria. It was destroyed during the disturbances there in 1882. The plate has been prepared from a squeeze which was obtained from the Bishop of Limerick, who has also described it in the Palaeographical Society's *Fac-similes*, Series II, vol. ii, plate 102.

The characters are irregularly formed uncials, and are doubtless the work of an illiterate workman—a late example of Greek epigraphy. It may be noted that in line 2, ο appears as a lozenge; in line 9, Ε is used for ε; and in line 10 there is a v-shaped upsilon. The initial Ι in lines 6 and 7 is marked by two dots. Common words and sacred names are contracted; the punctuation is with full-points, high and low; numerals are followed by a colon.

The first three lines of the epitaph read in Greek:

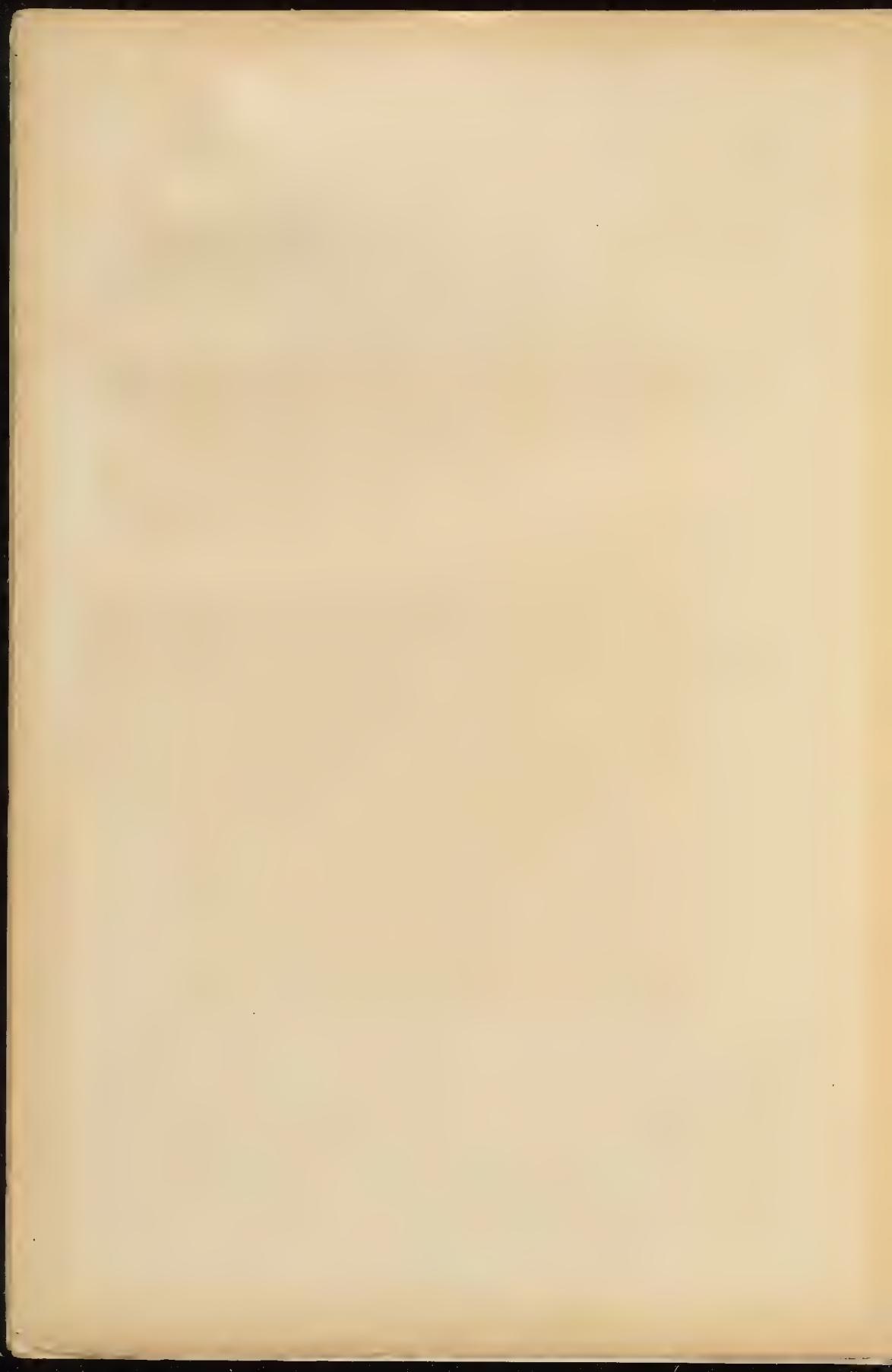
+ ο Θ[εο]ς των τι[εν]των και τα  
σης αγιων ο τον βασιλευον κατα  
γησε και του αδηφ πατηριν.

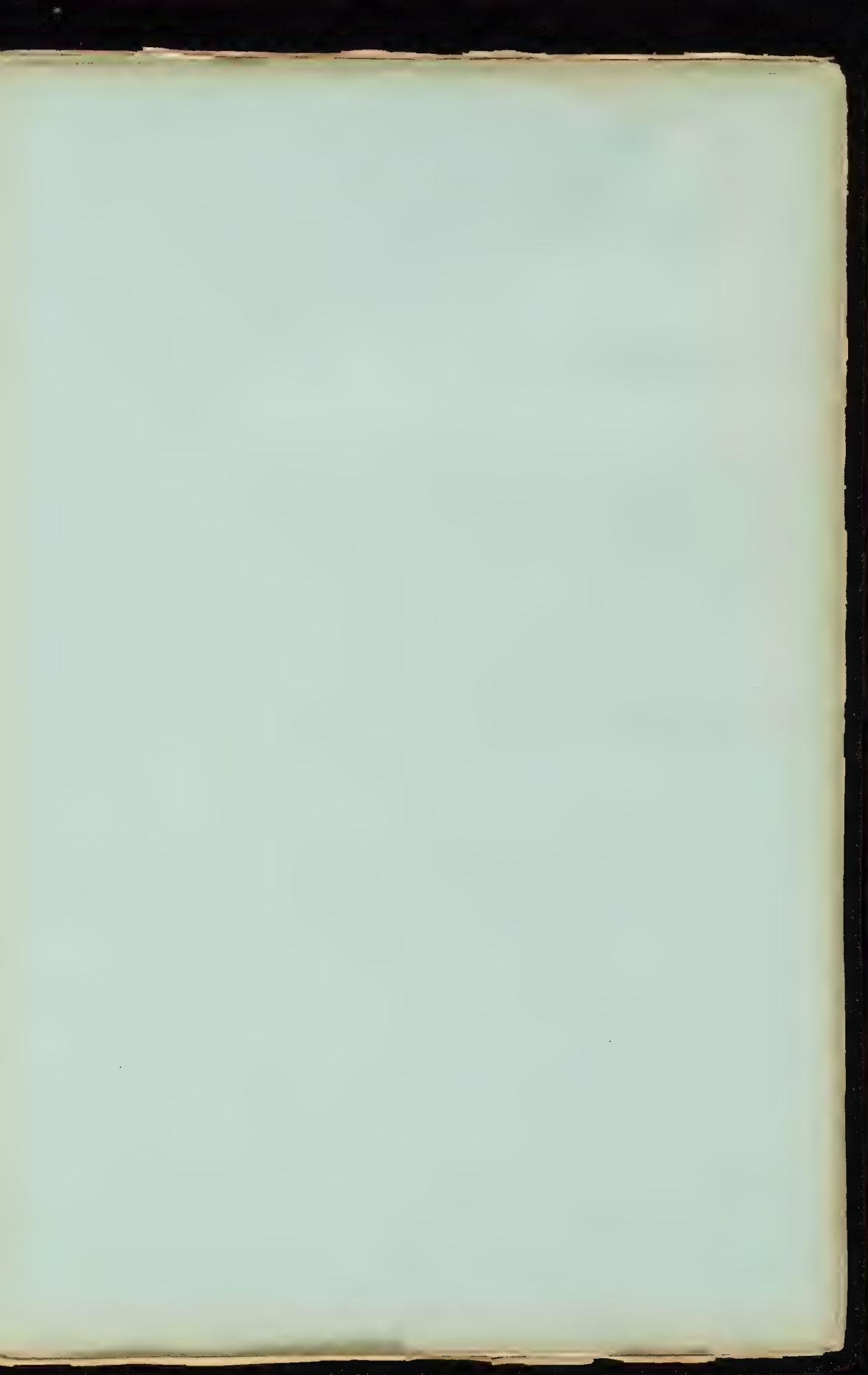




EPITAPH

(A. D. 1007)







CHAPTER XII

Plate 57. Terra-cotta Sarcophagus with Etruscan Inscription [about the Sixth Century B.C.].

Plate 58. Umbrian Bronze Tablet [probably earlier than 500 B.C.].

Plate 59. Archaic Latin Inscription from the Roman Forum [Date Unknown].

Plate 60. Latin, Greek, and Phoenician Inscription (B.C. 160-150).

Plate 61. Waxen Tablets from Pompeii (A.D. 55-56).



## CHAPTER XII

### EARLY & LATIN & INSCRIPTIONS

**W**E have seen that it is still an open question as to just when the Phoenician alphabet was taken to Greece. It is equally uncertain when the Grecian alphabet made its way to Italy. Indeed, it is quite possible that the Phoenician alphabet itself may have been introduced into some Italian colony directly. The greater probability, however, seems to be that various of the slightly modified Greek alphabets were introduced into different parts of Italy at a very early day, long before the appearance of Rome as an historic centre.

In any event, the entire population of large portions of Italy had reached a relatively high state of civilization prior to the rise of Rome, and had made use, for some centuries at least, of alphabetical writing in a slightly modified Greek character long before the Romans were heard of. One of the most important of these peoples, and the one whose writing remains to this day the most enigmatic, was the race inhabiting what is now called Tuscany—a people who called themselves the Raseni or Raseno, and who were known to the Greeks and Romans as Tyrrhenians and Tuscans, and whom moderns name Etruscans. Numerous monuments of this people have been preserved, and are to-day to be seen in various European museums.

One of the most striking and characteristic of these monuments is shown in Plate 57. The inscription on this, as on other Etruscan monuments, is clearly graven in a script the letters of which are at once recognizable because of their close similarity to the Phoenician characters. But the language has baffled all efforts to decipher it, and we have presented the anomaly of words that can be read with relative facility, but which are absolutely meaningless to modern scholarship. It will be observed that in this regard the Etruscan differs quite radically from such dead languages as the Egyptian and the Assyrian, of which the character itself was utterly unknown, but in which the existence of cognate languages rendered the interpretation relatively easy, once the phonetic values of the characters were made out. With the Etruscan script the phonetic values of the characters are known, but there exists no cognate language to give any clue to the meaning of the sounds.

Unless, therefore, some bilingual text should some day be discovered, it seems likely that the Etruscan will remain a dead language, in spite of efforts to decipher it. No end of scholarly effort has been expended on the Etruscan inscriptions, and various alleged affinities have been found for this language—one enthusiast believing that its likeness to the Irish enabled him to proximately solve its mysteries, while another with great confidence asserted its close affinity with ancient German. But none of these alleged relationships has proved valid on further investigation.

The Umbrian and Oscan writings, on the other hand, are in a language not distantly related to the Latin, and, therefore, are more readily susceptible of interpretation. To casual inspection, however, both of these bear a very close resemblance to the Etruscan because of the similarity of the character, and the early investigators did not discriminate between the three.

A common peculiarity of these archaic *Italic* scripts is that they are written from right to left. It will be recalled that the Egyptians wrote in either direction, and that the Semites still hold to the plan of writing from right to left. The earliest Greek texts introduced a modification, which apparently neither Egyptian nor Semite ever employed, by adopting the expedient of writing backward and forward, first in one direction and then in the other in alternate lines. To this form of writing the term *boustrophedon* was applied, referring to the movement of an ox in ploughing. An illustration of this method is shown in Plate 59, which is written in the Greek character, although the language is Latin. None but very ancient writings hold to this plan, although it apparently went out of vogue much earlier in some places than in others. The present inscription, for example, is much less ancient than the Greek inscriptions on the monuments at Abu Simbel, yet that, as we have seen, was written from left to right.

Indeed, the entire number of *boustrophedon* inscriptions at present extant is relatively small, and it would appear that the practice of writing from left to right very early became predominant, and soon shut out the other method altogether. Since about the fifth century A.C. all the Western nations have held exclusively to this form of writing, which, indeed, has been adopted by Aryan nations everywhere, the Semites alone holding with equal persistence to the opposite method.

Plate 60 is of interest as showing an early Latin text with a translation in Greek and in the Punic (Phoenician) character on the same tablet.

Plate 61 shows examples of the waxen tablets that were so commonly employed in Greece and Rome for business documents, letters, and the like.

PLATE 57. TERRA-COTTA SARCOPHAGUS WITH ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTION [ABOUT THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.]

British Museum, Etruscan Saloon

**T**HIS plate represents one of two famous Etruscan sarcophagi found at Cere, a little settlement in Etruria, Italy, now known as Cervetri, but anciently, before the Etruscan invasion, a Pelasgian city called Agylla. This particular sarcophagus is now preserved in the Etruscan saloon of the British Museum; the other, closely resembling it, is in the Louvre.

The sarcophagus is of terra-cotta and bears two inscriptions in Etruscan characters, which apparently read from right to left. They have been variously interpreted, and Corssen, in his *Sprache der Etrusker* (vol. i, p. 784), interprets the inscription on the lid, reading "Mi vela vesus me vepe tarsi kipa," as the dedication of the monument. The four sides of the cistæ are decorated in low relief. The sarcophagus measures 5 feet 8 inches in height, inclusive of group, and 4 feet 5 inches in length.

Dr. A. S. Murray thus describes this sarcophagus:

"The group on the lid would come within the category of more or less purely Etruscan work, while the reliefs go to the opposite extreme of being dominated by the influence of Greece or of Asia Minor."

In the man the evidence of realism is most apparent in the modelling of the torso. Hardly any trace of convention or tradition remains. In the limbs, however, there is less of this direct study of nature, while again the face is simply a mask, executed on traditional lines. We see that it is a mask from the artificial rendering of the hair over the forehead, and are reminded thereby of the use of such masks to cover the faces of the dead in early times, as, for example, in the gold masks of Mycenæ and other instances. As regards the face of the woman, there is no such direct proof that it also is a mask, and no inference can be made one way or the other so long as it is unknown whether she is to be regarded as living or dead. The body of the woman is strongly naturalistic. In a rough general manner the forms under the drapery are made to express themselves forcibly. The drapery has to give up much of its older conventionalisms, and has not yet found a proper substitute for them, whereas the thicker drapery over the legs retains fully the old conventions. On the other hand, the feet and ankles again make a considerable show of realism. It is noticeable that she wears sandals, under which are thin stockings. Shoes, or even high boots, may have been more in accordance with early Etruscan usage; but the instances of sandals are numerous enough. The point for the moment is that in the other archaic examples the feet and the sandals alike adhere to a strictly conventional type, while on our sarcophagus the feet of the woman seem almost to feel the rude touch of the rough straps of the sandals. The thin stocking accentuates that sense of touch. For the rest, we know of no other example of stockings among the remains of ancient art.

"In the banquet scene on the back of the sarcophagus there appear certain vases on tall pedestals which correspond exactly in shape with a class of vases which have been found of late years at Falerii and elsewhere. These may be regarded as local Etruscan ware. It is noticeable also that one of the musicians carries a lyre in his hand of absurdly diminutive proportions. The shape of the lyre is correct, but its exceeding smallness implies that the artist was ignorant of the proportions of this instrument in Greek art, as an

Etruscan artist might perhaps be excused for being, considering that the flutes were much more to his nature and practice.

"The question at the present day is, how far this method of working in relief in terra-cotta had been derived by the Etruscans from Greece or from Asia Minor, how long, and to what extent that Hellenic influence had been exercised. This much seems clear, that the Etruscans did possess a flourishing art of their own, even in times earlier than our sarcophagus. The proof of that is to be seen in the numerous wall-paintings on their tombs, the sculptured cistæ above referred to, and many objects of art of a portable kind in bronze or in gold. On the other hand, we see the archaic Etruscans employing the same alphabet as the contemporary Greeks, and find that their tombs have yielded vast numbers of painted vases and other examples of artistic luxury, which had obviously been imported from Greece, all testifying to a wide community of feeling between the two peoples during the archaic period."

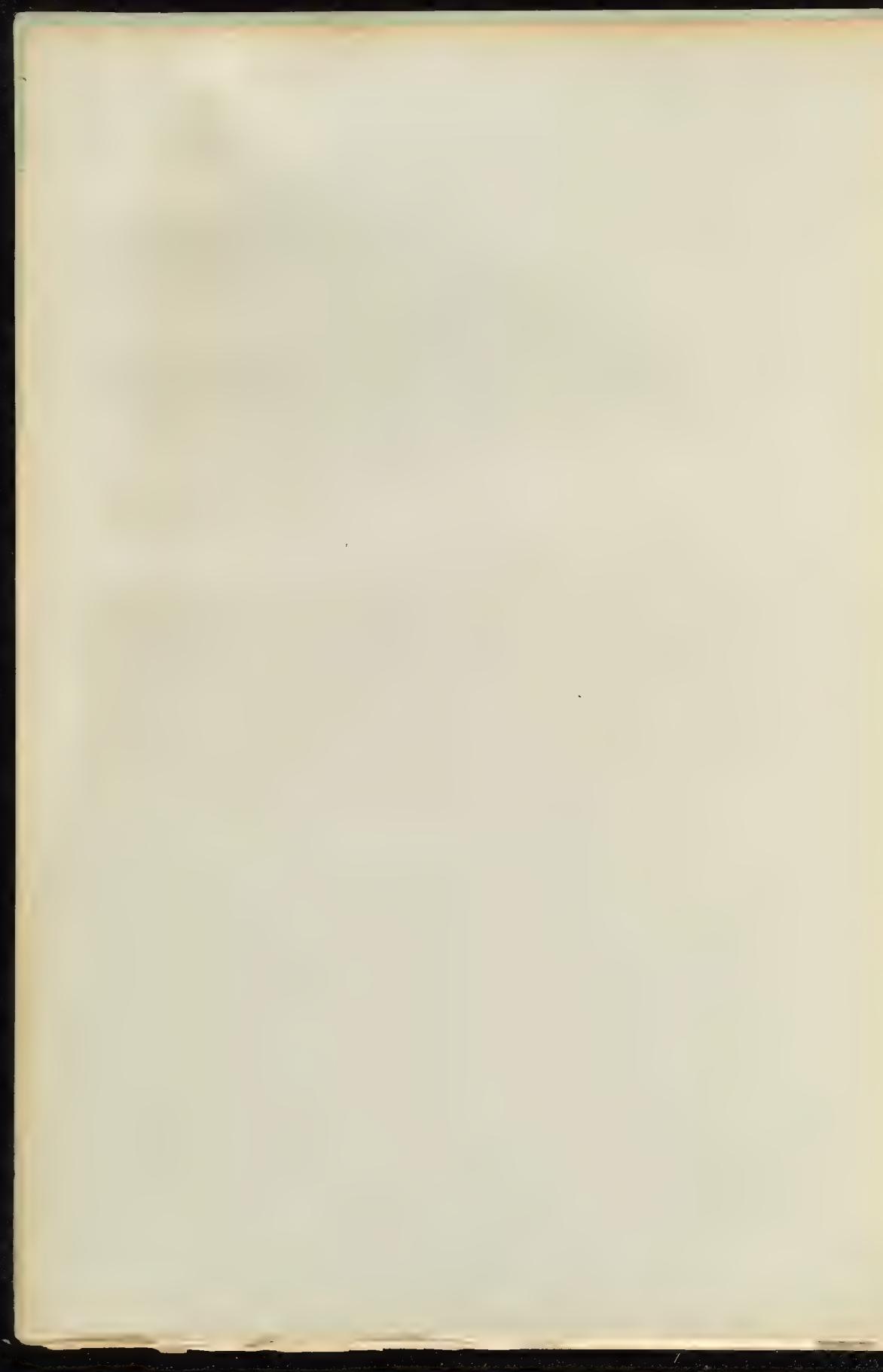
Sir C. T. Newton, writing on the subject of the relief, says :

"The relief on the front of the coffin represents a battle between two warriors, each attended by one male and two female figures. At either end of the scene is a winged figure. These probably represent the souls of the two warriors. On the opposite side of the coffin is represented a banquet, at which a male and female figure recline. At one end are two warriors, each of whom appears to be taking leave of two female relatives. At the other end are two pairs of females, seated on chairs in a mourning attitude. It is to be presumed that the four scenes thus represented on the sides of the coffin have relation to one another, and that the four subjects represented are : The leave-taking of two warriors before going to single combat; the death of one of them; the mourning for that death; and the funeral feast, or possibly the reception of the slain warrior in the realms of bliss. But the particular single combat represented has not yet been identified. It should be noticed that in the single combat a lion is represented fastening on the leg of the falling warrior."

The inscription on the front of the sarcophagus has been transliterated as follows :

Mivelaves' nas' mevcepertursikpa  
Thaniavelaimatinaiunata.

A full description of the plate may be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, vol. viii, p. 664. Fabretti in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum* and *Primo Supplemento* gives all the known Etruscan inscriptions up to 1874, numbering about five thousand. Other books valuable to the student of Etruscan antiquities are J. Byres, *Hypogeoi, or The Sepulchral Caverns of Tarquinia*; Brunn, *Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*; T. Mommsen, *Die Unteritalischen Dialekten*; K. O. Müller, *Etrusker* (edited by Deecke), vol. ii; Sir C. T. Newton, *The Castellain Collection* (1874), plates 18-20; G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i, pp. 227 and 280; and A. S. Murray, LL.D., F.S.A., *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan*, London, 1898.





TERRA-COTTA SARCOPHAGUS WITH ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTION.

Involuntary character (about 500 B.C.)

British Museum, London.

From Cerveteri.



PLATE 58. UMBRIAN BRONZE TABLET [PROBABLY EARLIER THAN 500 B.C.]

Palazzo Municipale, Gubbio

THIS plate represents Tablet III, one of seven inscribed bronze tablets discovered near Gubbio (ancient Iguvium), Italy, in 1444, and now preserved there in the Palazzo Municipale. They form, it is said, the chief monuments of the ancient Umbrian language. Four of the tablets are wholly Umbrian, one is partly Umbrian and partly Latin, and two are Latin. The inscriptions apparently read from right to left; those of tablets V and VII, and nearly all on the obverse of V, are in Roman letters; the rest, which are pretty certainly of earlier date, are in Etruscan letters. The tables are supposed to relate to the acts of a corporation of priests called the Attidian brethren, who had authority over a considerable region, and probably derived their name from an ancient town Attidium, corresponding to the modern Attiglio.

Size, 19½ inches long by 11¾ inches wide.

The following transliteration and translation of the first fourteen lines on this tablet are by Professor Michel Bréal, of the Collège de France:

Tablet III

- (1) Esunu fua herter sume
- (2) uscite sestentasiaru
- (3) urnasiaru hunkat. Vuke prumu pehatu
- (4) Inuk uhtur urtes puntis
- (5) frater ostentuta. Pude
- (6) fratrū mersus fust
- (7) kumnakle, inuk uhtur vapede :
- (8) Kumnakle sistu sakre uvem uhtur,
- (9) teitu, puntes terkantur. Inumek sakre
- (10) uvem urtas puntes fratum upetuta.
- (11) Inumek via mersuva Arvamē etuta :
- (12) erak pir persku udetu. Sakre uvem
- (13) kletra fertuta; aituta; arven kletram
- (14) amparitu. Eruk esenu futu kletra tuplak.

Translation

- (1) Sacrificium fiat serie (2) completa (?) — arum
- (3) — arum hoc modo: In luce primum piaculum

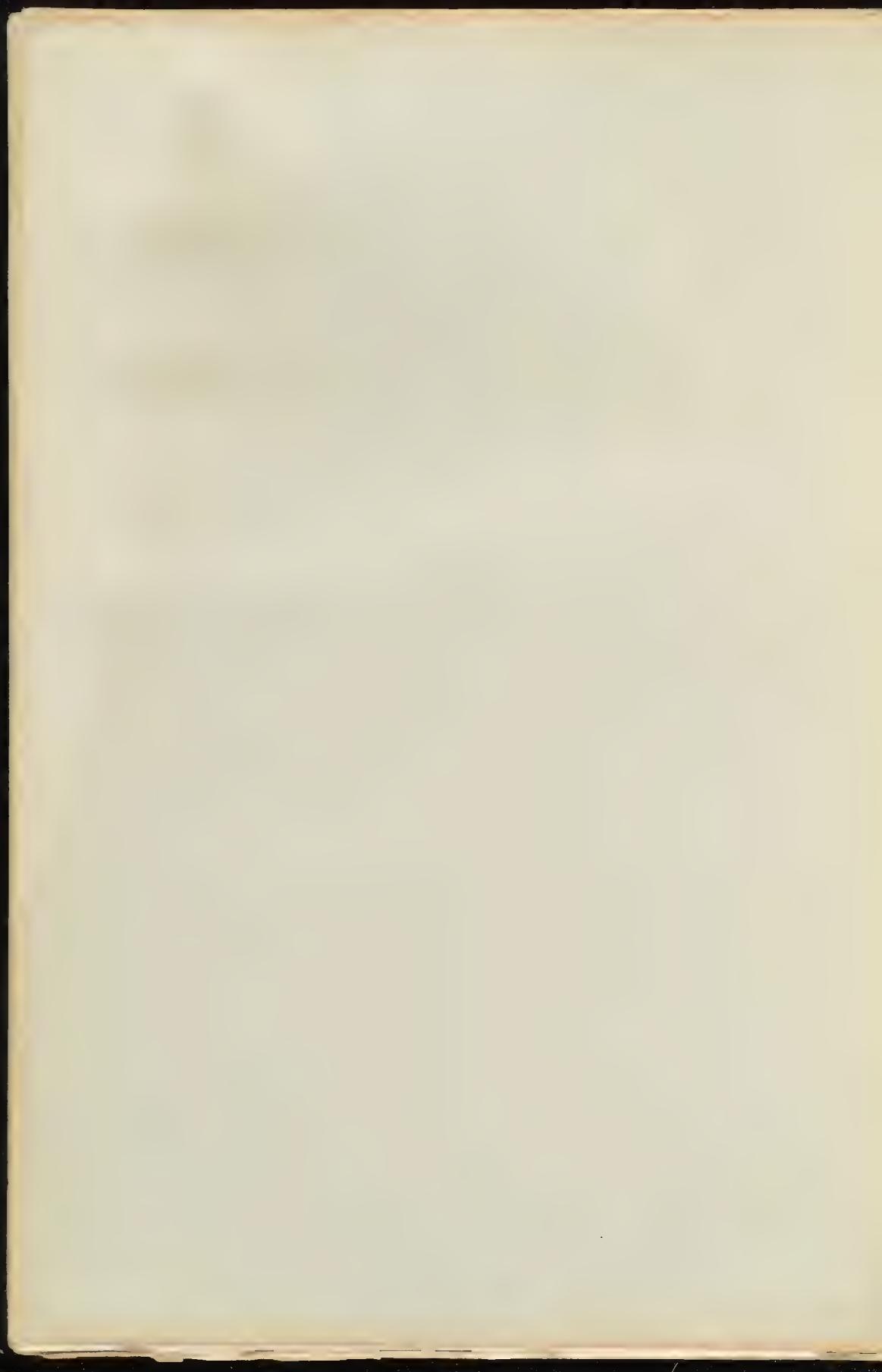
facito. (4) Tum magistratum — is — is (5) fratres creanto. Postquam (6) fratrū — fuerit (7) in templo, tum magistratus in lapide (?) : (8) "In emplo sisto sacram ovem magistratus," (9) dico, — —. Tum sacram (10) ovem — — fratrū prestanto. (11) Tum via — a ad Arvam ento: (12) ibi ignem sacrificii causa adolet. Sacram ovem (13) feretro fertote; nuncupate; Arvae fereretur (14) colloca. Ibi sacrificium esto in feretro duplex.

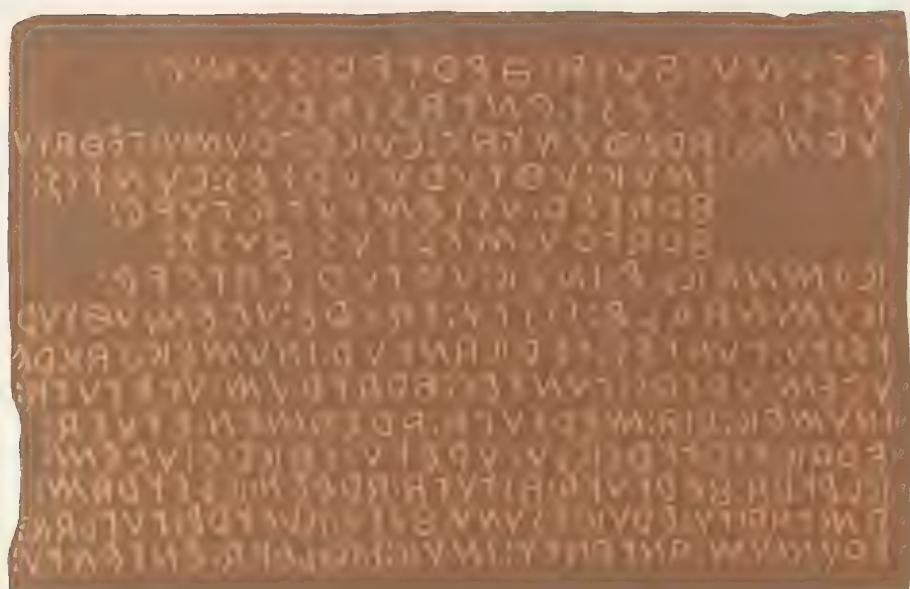
In Professor Bréal's opinion, this tablet and tablet IV describe the sacrifice of a sheep, but he confesses that his ignorance of the sense of certain words, especially of the expression *urtes puntis*, is a serious obstacle in the way of deciphering the inscription. He suggests that the language, especially in the orthography, presents certain archaic characteristics: thus the imperative plurals, in place of terminating in *tatu*, end in *tuta*. The neuter plurals are in *a*, never in *u*. The writing is large and easy to read. On tablet IV, line 20, the letter *o* is used with the value of *t*. The orthography, correct at the beginning, becomes careless toward the middle and the end, but the separations of the words are carefully indicated.

The writing of the first five tablets is a variety of Etruscan writing. The alphabet is composed of twenty-eight letters, and as to the language of the Eubugine tablets, Professor Bréal (p. xxviii) says:

"It is not possible on this subject to have any doubt. It is a close parent of the Latin, one of the idioms that Varro has happily characterized in saying: 'Nonnulla . . . in utraque lingua habent radices, ut arbores quae in confinio nati in utroque agro servunt.' Umbrian may be considered the avant-courre of the Romance languages."

Further information on this subject may be found in Professor Michel Bréal's scholarly work, *Les Tables Eubugines, texte, traduction et commentaire, avec une grammaire et une introduction historique*, Paris, 1875.





UMBRIAN BRONZE TABLET.

Probably earlier than 500 B.C.



PLATE 59. ARCHAIC LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM  
THE ROMAN FORUM [DATE UNKNOWN,

British Museum, Room of Greek and Latin Inscriptions

A RCHAIC inscription in Latin characters and in the Greek language, found in 1859, under an ancient pavement in the *Comitium* at the north-west corner of the Roman Forum, by the side of two oblong bases apparently for the traditional lions which guarded the tomb of Romulus or of Faustulus. Professor Percy Gardner, in the article on "Writing," in the *New Volumes* of the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, thus describes this inscription:

"It is engraved upon the four sides and one bevelled edge of a pillar, the top of which has been broken off. As the writing is boustrophedon, beginning at the bottom of the pillar and running upwards and down again, no single line of the inscription is complete. Probably more than half the pillar is lost, so that it is not possible to make out the sense with certainty. The inscription is probably not older than that on the fibula from Praeneste (found and published in 1887), but it has the additional interest of being undoubtedly couched in the Latin of Rome. The surviving portion of the inscription contains examples of all the letters of the early alphabet, though the forms of F and B are fragmentary and doubtful. As in the Praenestine inscriptions, the alphabet is still the western (Chalcidian) alphabet. K is still in use as an ordinary consonant, and not limited to a symbol for abbreviations as in the classical period. The rounded form of *y* is found with the value of G in RECEI, which is probably the dative of *rex*. H has still the closed form *H*. M has the five-stroke form, S is the three-stroke >, tending to become rounded. R appears in the Greek form without a tail, and V and Y are both found for the same sound. The manner of writing up and down instead of backwards and forwards across the stone is obviously appropriate to a surface which is of considerable length but comparatively narrow, a connected sense being thus much easier to observe than in writing across a narrow surface, where, as in the gravestones of Melos, three lines are required for a single word. The form of the monument corresponds to that which we are told was given to the revolving wooden pillars on which the laws of Solon were painted."

The plate has been prepared from a cast presented to the British Museum by Queen Victoria.

The word *forum* originally signified any open place where men met for the transaction of mercantile or political business. In Rome itself, however, the Forum denoted the flat and formerly marshy space between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. In early times it was bounded on two sides by rows of shops and houses, dating from the time of the first Tarquin. An altar to Saturn, traditionally set up by the companions of Hercules, and an altar to Vulcan, both at the end towards the Capitol, with the temple of Vesta and the Regia at the opposite end, were among the earliest monuments grouped around the Forum. The central space was used for public meetings, gladiatorial combats, pageants, etc., but it became cumbered with an ever-accumulating crowd of statues and other honorary monuments.





ARCHAIC LATIN INSCRIPTION

Boustrophedon

Cast. British Museum. From the Iordan River.



PLATE 60. LATIN, GREEK, AND PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTION (B.C. 160-150)

Royal Academy, Turin

**T**RILINGUAL inscription incised on the base of a bronze pillar ornamented with a laurel wreath, many leaves of which were found with the other fragments. The length of the inscription is about sixteen inches and its breadth is  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The Latin and Greek texts are complete. The Phoenician is slightly defective at the end of the first and beginning of the second line. The Phoenician characters are of the Carthaginian or Punic type, but rather stiff and ungainly owing to the carver having used a small chisel instead of a graver. Discovered at Santuaci, near Pauli Gerrei, in Sardinia, February, 1860, and now at the Royal Academy, Turin.

Latin :  
CLEON SALARI(US) SOC(IORUM) S(ERUUS)  
AESCOLAPIO MERRE DONUM DEDIT  
LUBENS  
MERITO MERENTE.

Greek :  
ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΟΙ ΜΗΡΡΗ ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΕΣΤΗ  
ΣΕ ΚΑΕΩΝ Ο ΕΙΗ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΜΑ.

Translation of Phoenician :

(1) To the Lord, to 'Eshmún Merret, an altar of bronze, weighing a hundred (100) pounds, which vowed Cleon Sh-h-s-g-n, who is at the salt works. He heard (2) his voice (and) healed him. In the year of the Suffetes Himilkit and 'Abd-' Eshmún, the sons of Hamlan.

It will be noticed that the Latin words are separated by points, some words being abbreviated. The

Greek, however, is continuously written, and some of the characters take unusual forms, notably, ς and α.

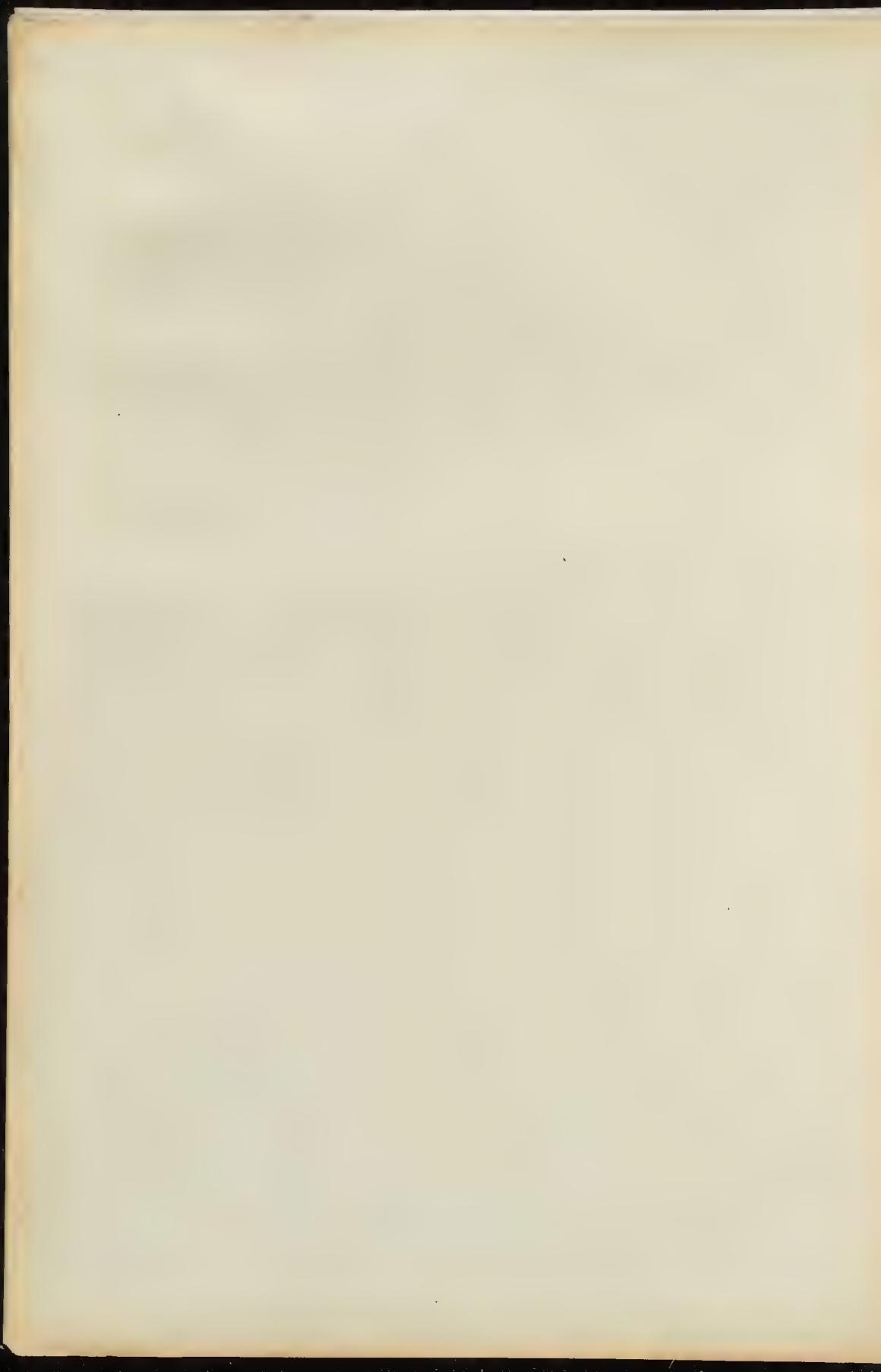
The word transliterated Sh-h-s-g-n is probably the aboriginal Sardinian name for Cleon.

The Phoenician text is the largest and fullest of the three. Cleon, though a slave, whence he has no genealogy, was the manager of these salt works and a man of some means, as his costly gift shows. The dedication having taken place long after the termination of the first Punic War, when Sardinia passed into the hands of the Romans (B.C. 238), it is somewhat surprising to see that the dedicatory should still date it according to the years of the Carthaginian Suffetes (Judges). It must be remarked, however, that he does so only in that portion of it which was composed in an "unknown tongue." Hence the date of the pillar was before the outbreak of the third Punic War, B.C. 149.

The god Asculapius, to whom the altar was dedicated, was the deity of medicine, and votive offerings were often made to him on recovery from illness.

Aesculapius, in mythology, was the son of Apollo and of the nymph Coronis. Educated by the centaur Chiron, he learnt the art of healing, and his skill enabled him, it was said, to cure the most desperate diseases. But Jupiter, enraged at his restoring to life Hippolytus, who had been torn in pieces by his own horses, killed him with a thunderbolt. The god's most famous shrine was at Epidaurus. He is commonly represented as an old man with a beard, his usual attribute being a staff with a serpent coiled around it.

The decipherment of this inscription, as given by the Palaeographical Society, is based largely upon the researches of Professor Theodor Mommsen.



LATIN, GREEK, AND PHENICIAN INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF A BRONZE  
PILLAR DEDICATED BY A SLAVE TO THE GOD ÆSCULAPIUS

160 150 B. C.

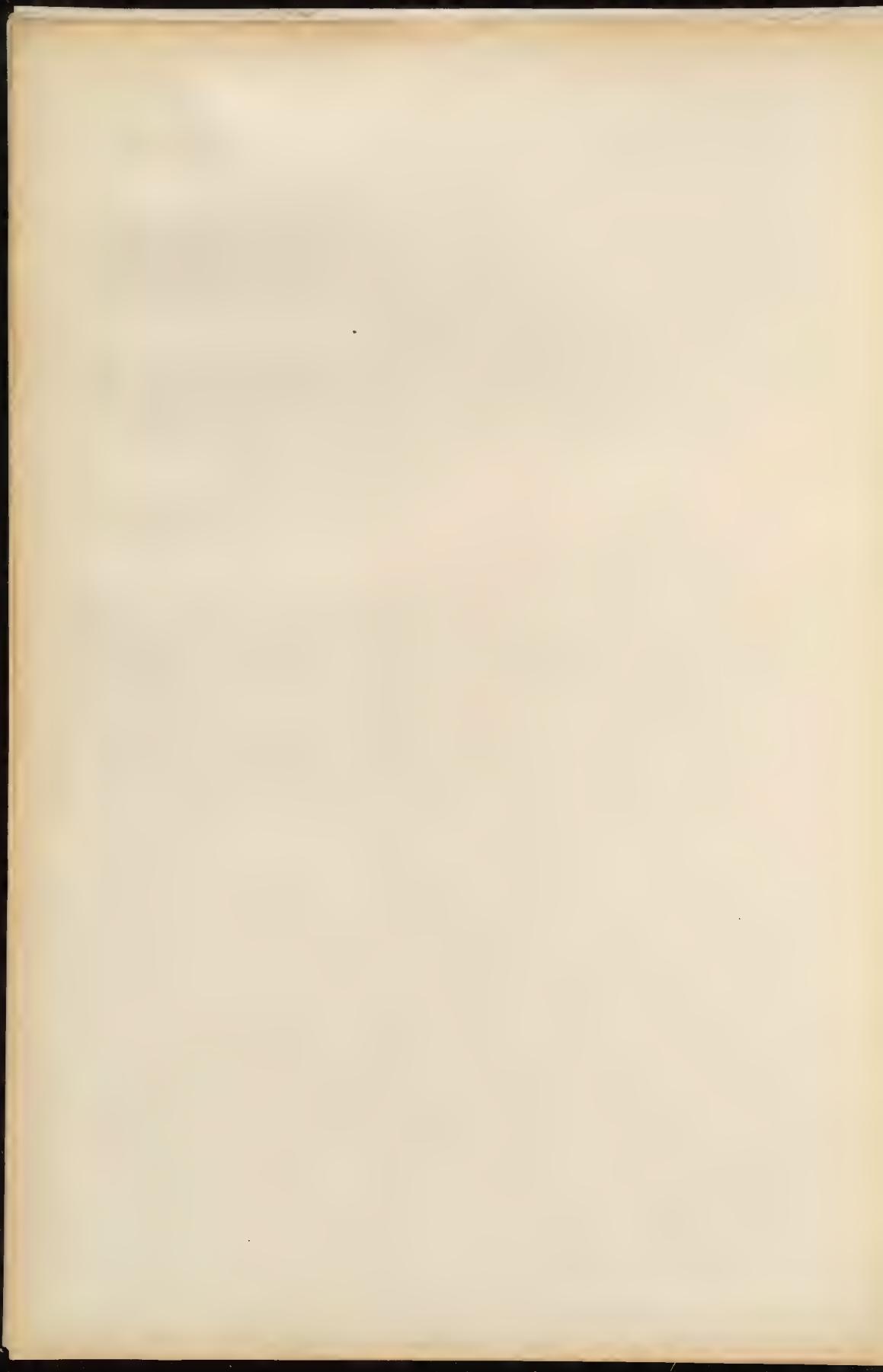


PLATE 61. WAXEN TABLETS FROM POMPEII (A.D. 55-56)

Museo Nazionale, Naples

POMPEII was situated on the Bay of Naples, nearly at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, and was in its day a flourishing provincial town. Tacitus and Seneca, the Roman historians, bestowed the epithet of celebrated upon it; the former records a great tumult which took place there in A.D. 59, and also speaks of its severe injury by an earthquake in A.D. 63. In A.D. 79 Pompeii was totally destroyed and buried by an eruption of Vesuvius.

Our first knowledge of the existence of the site of Pompeii was obtained in the year 1684, when, in the sinking of a well, various inscriptions and pieces of wrought iron were found at a depth of twenty-two feet. In 1706 Prince d'Elboeuf began building a palace upon the spot, using the marbles excavated for the floors of the new building. Some statues were discovered on that occasion. In 1748 the actual site of Pompeii was discovered, since when excavations have been continued to the present day.

There is little doubt that Pompeii is to-day the richest mine of Roman antiquities extant; and it seems little short of miraculous that the remains of this ancient city, with all the evidences of its industry, riches, and magnificence, should have been preserved—practically intact for nearly two thousand years.

The waxen tablets shown in the plate were discovered in the course of excavations made in 1875, in the house of one Lucius Cæcilius Jucundus. The find consisted of 175 libelli which had been enclosed in a box placed in a recess above the portico of the peristyle and comprised two classes of documents: (1) Deeds connected with auctions; and (2) receipts for payments of taxes. The larger number of the first class are *prescriptiones*, or payments made by the *argentarius*, or banker, to the vendors at auctions on account of the purchasers, whose names, however, do not appear in the transaction. The whole collection has been described by Professor Giulio Petra.

"The specimens in the plate," says the Palæographical Society, "are selected from two triptyches belong-

ing to the class of *prescriptiones*. The triptyches of this collection being of three tablets of wood, fastened together in the form of a book by means of two holes pierced in the margin, have usually the following arrangement: "One side of each tablet is sunk within a frame and covered with a coating of wax. The tablets are then put together in such a way that of their six sides or pages, 1, 4, and 6 present a wooden surface; 2, 3, and 5, a waxen surface. The first and the sixth side formed the outside of the libellus; on the waxen surfaces of 2 and 3 was inscribed the deed, and on 5 an abstract or second copy of it, and 4 was reserved for the names and seals of the witnesses, the seals being fixed within a groove cut down the centre and the names being written in ink, usually on the right of the seals."

"The first specimen represents the fifth page of a triptych recording a payment made on the 25 June, A.D. 56, by the banker, L. Cæcilius Jucundus, to M. Alleius Carpus, the vendor at an auction. The second and third specimens are taken from pages 2 and 4 of a triptych whereby 11,039 sesterces are paid to Umbria Januaria, 12 December, A.D. 55. The waxen surfaces of the first two specimens have remained exceptionally perfect. The wooden surface of the third specimen has been burnt to a glossy blackness, whereby the ink is thrown up in clear relief."

The writing is in mixed uncials and minuscules. In the first two specimens the letter A has no cross stroke, but sometimes a perpendicular mark. These two tablets are written with the graphium or stylus. The third is written with a pen and differs considerably in the formation of the letters b, e, M, and o, and the tall V appears.

The first four lines of the upper tablet read:

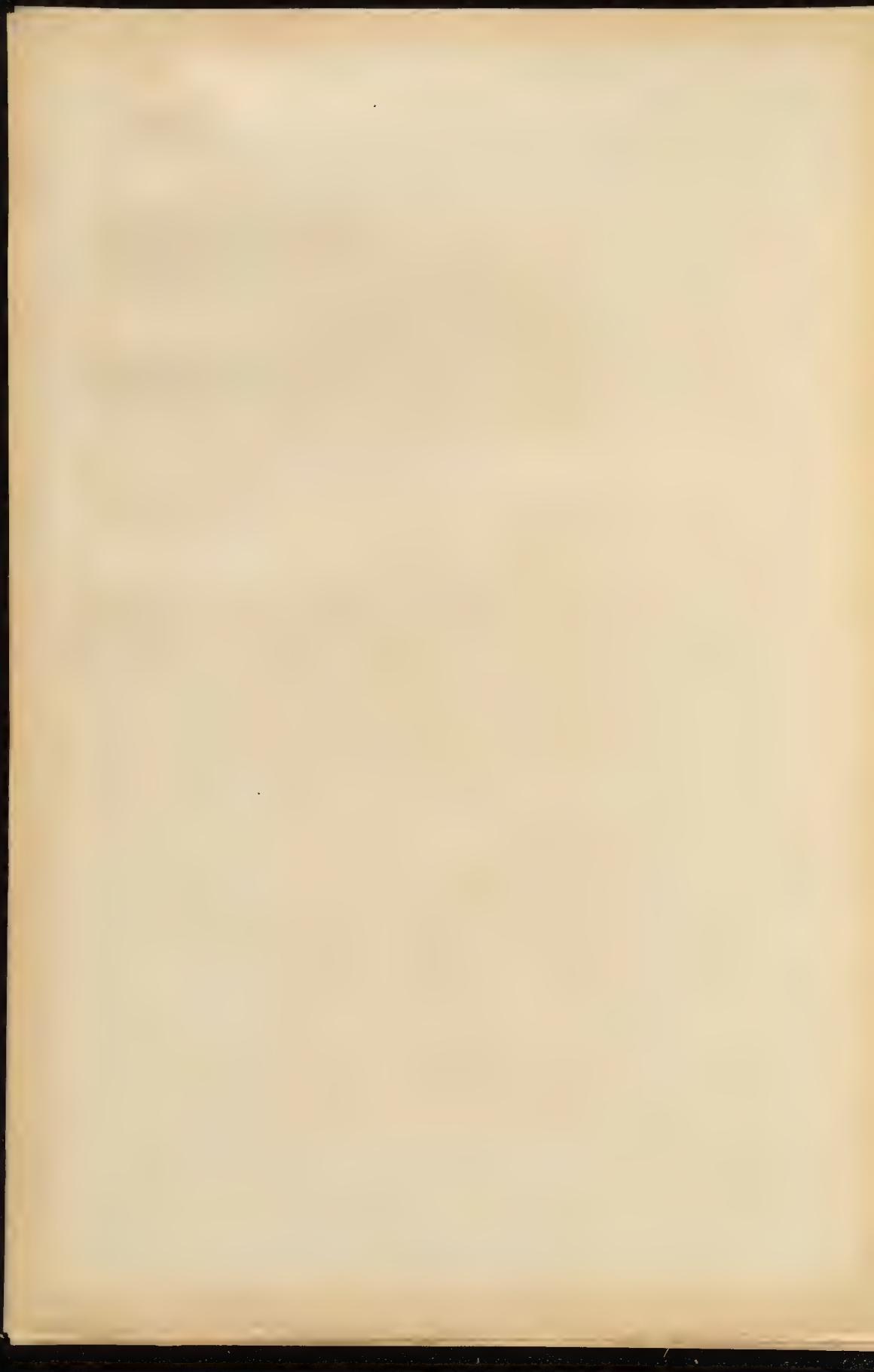
q. uolusio saturnino. p cor  
nelio. cos viii k iul  
m. alleius carpus scripsi me  
acecepisse ab. l. cæcilio.

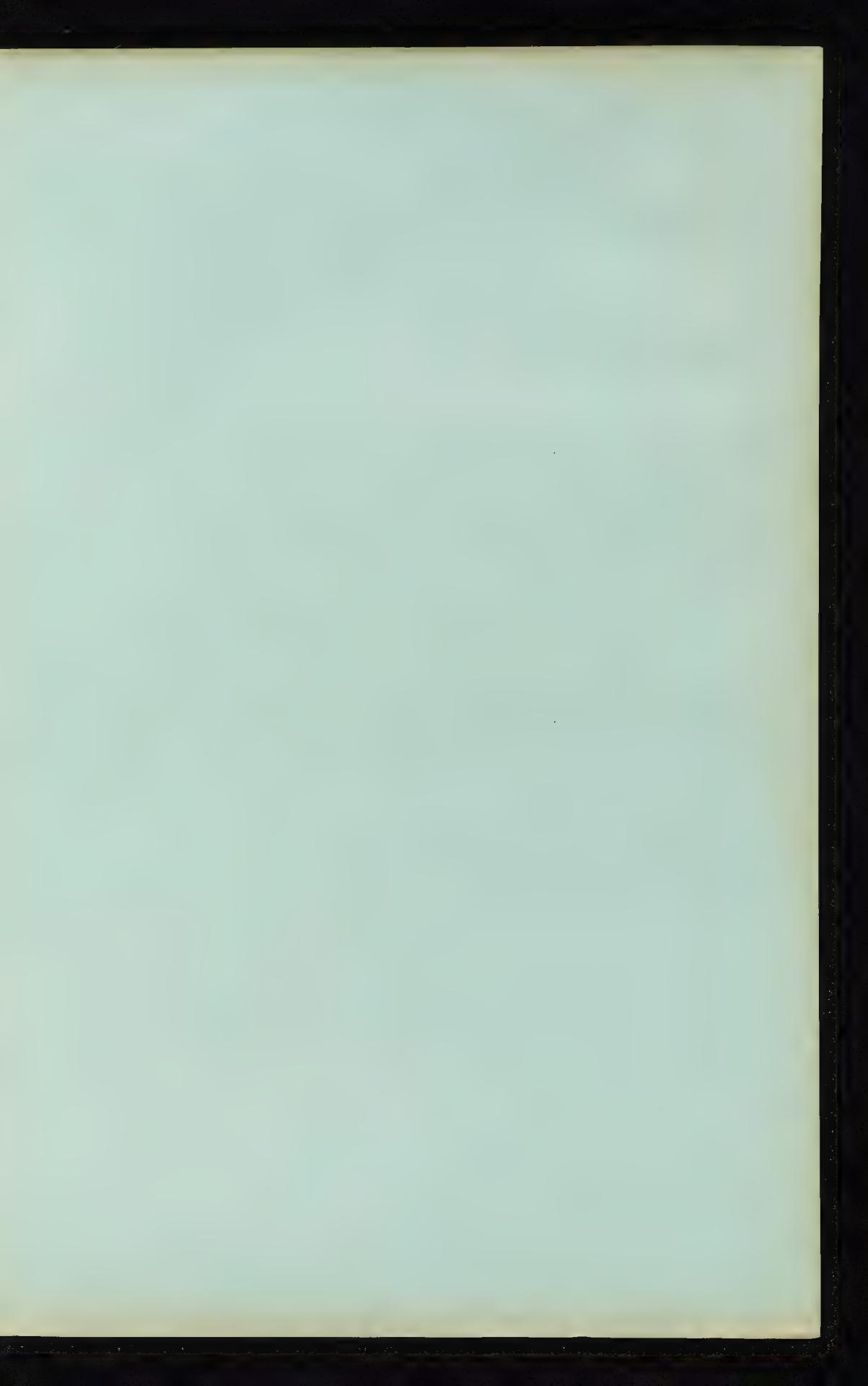


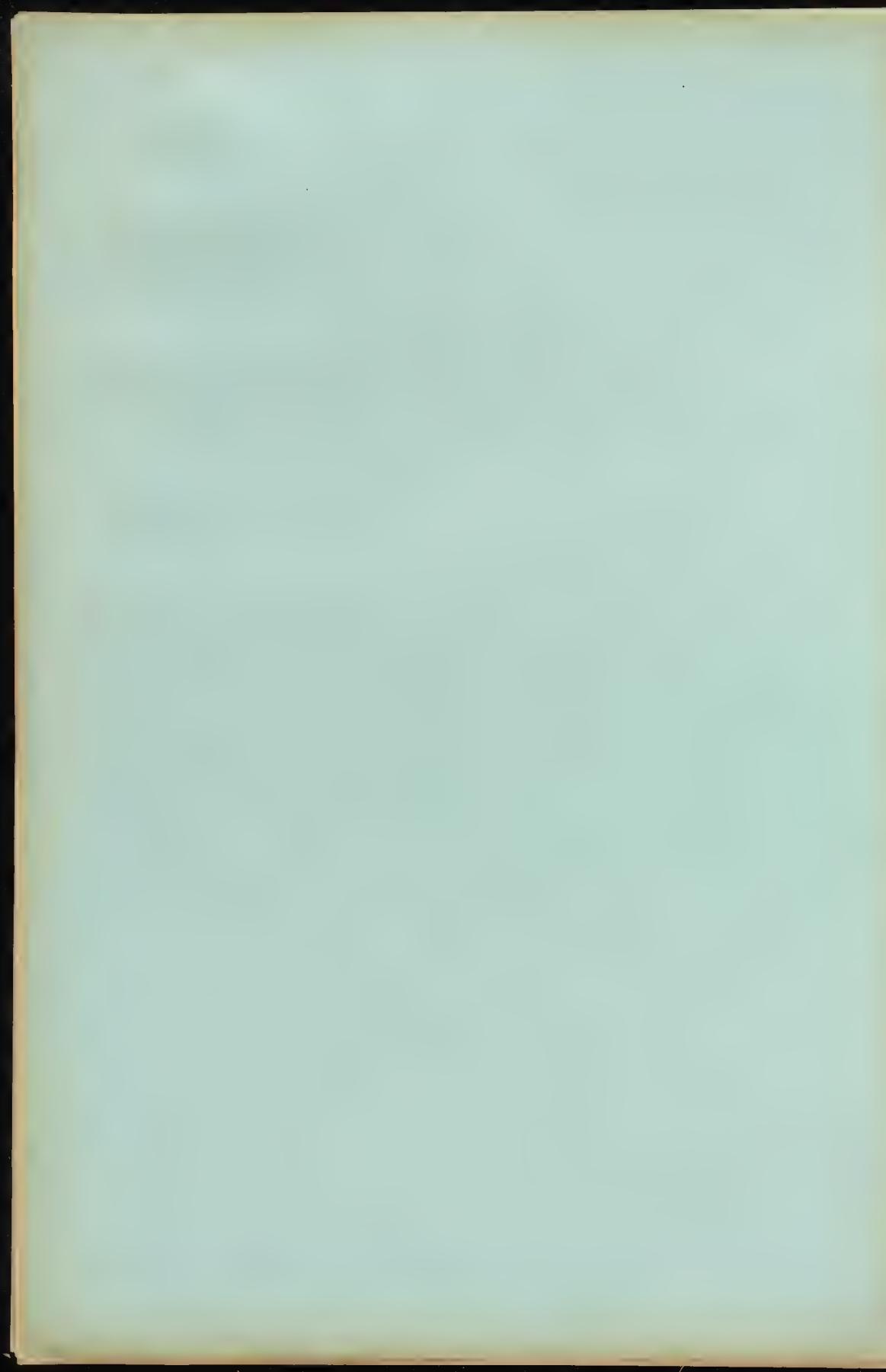


WAXEN TABLETS

(A. D. 55-56)







CHAPTER <sup>64</sup> XIII

Plate 62. Tax Bill from Thebes (B.C. 254 or 253).

Plate 63. Tax Receipt from Thebes (B.C. 211 or 210).

Plate 64. Petition from Memphis, B.C. 163, and Official Document from Memphis, B.C. 161.

Plate 65. Dialectical Treatise, Second Century B.C.

Plate 65a. Hyperides (Second or First Century B.C.).

Plate 65b. Homer's Iliad, First Century B.C.



### CHAPTER XIII

#### GREEK DOCUMENTS FROM EGYPT \*

DURING the reign of the Ptolemies, Egypt was the land of books. The founder of the Dynasty, the first Ptolemy, was himself the author of the most authoritative history of Alexander, whom he had accompanied as a trusted lieutenant in all his conquests; and the succeeding rulers for about three centuries maintained with extraordinary uniformity the traditions of scholarship which from the first attached to Alexandria, the capital of the kingdom.

Throughout this period Alexandria may be said, without exaggeration, to have been the culture-centre of the world. Athens, it is true, still retained something of the glamour of its former greatness, and Pergamus, the capital of the Seleucid Kingdom, attempted for a long time to rival the Egyptian city; but it cannot be said that the supremacy of Alexandria was ever fairly challenged.

The civilization of the Egyptian city throughout this period was essentially Greek. The greatness of Egypt was only reminiscent, and though occasionally one hears of an Egyptian scholar, such as Manetho, who wrote the famous "History of the Egyptian Dynasties," the main body of writers and scholars of the time were Greeks, and the official language of the country was naturally that of its now dominant conquerors. Doubtless a large proportion of the native population never adopted or learned the Greek language. Such official documents as the Rosetta Stone, with its trilingual inscription in hieroglyphics, demotic script, and Greek, show that the king was obliged to resort to the native script and the ancient language in order to reach all his subjects.

None the less is it true that the coterie of brilliant men who gathered about the court of Alexandria, and made that city famous as the centre of culture for a long epoch, were Greeks, speaking and writing a language little modified from the language of Herodotus, Sophocles, and *Æschylus*; a language, in short, only modified from that of classical Greece of the Golden Age in so far as every tongue must change in the course of several generations.

The institution that gave, as it were, the official stamp to the culture of Ptolemaic Egypt was the famous library at Alexandria. There were, in point of fact, several famous Alexandrian libraries. The first of these, collected by the early Ptolemies and added to by one after another, had come in the day of Cleopatra to have, so it is alleged, about 700,000 volumes. It is easy to exaggerate in citing numbers where there are no possible means of verification, and he would be a rash statistician who should claim for this computation any great validity as a close estimate of the size of the first Alexandrian Library. That it was a monster collection of books, however, cannot be in the least questioned, and when Caesar, as a means of self-protection, set fire to it, or rather to his ships, from which the fire soon spread to the library, no doubt there went up in flames and smoke a mass of material bearing on the history of antiquity which never has been, and never could be, restored.

It is wonderful, however, how quickly a new library sprang into being in place of the old. A love of books, once acquired, is a persistent infatuation, and one can readily understand, if he cannot quite condone, the act by which Mark Antony laid the broad foundations for the new Alexandrian Library. Wishing to please Cleopatra, the Roman general, now taking the place in the affections of the Egyptian Queen once held by Caesar, transported bodily from Pergamus all the treasures of the library of King Eumenes. This library is said to have consisted of 200,000 volumes. However large the over-estimate, at least the number was sufficient to make a respectable start for the Alexandrian Library which Cleopatra established in the Serapeum, or Temple of Serapis.

\* During the progress of this work a new Greek manuscript has come to light through the excavations of the German "Orient Gesellschaft" in Abukir, near Cairo. The papyrus was found in a mummy case, and contains the dithyrambic poem of Timotheos on the Persian War. This is beyond doubt the oldest Greek manuscript known. Prof. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, in his description of the manuscript appended to the *Mitteilung der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* of September 14, 1902, assigns it to a period between 330-290 B.C. and adds that the copies of Timotheos used at the musical festivals of Alexander had the same appearance. The formation of the letters, however, is very like that shown on Plates 65 and 65a.

This new Alexandrian Library soon became quite as famous as the old. It was added to for about three centuries; was scattered in A.D. 390 by the fanatic Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria under Theodosius the Great; was re-collected in part and added to again for another term of about three centuries, and finally was wilfully destroyed, so it has often been alleged, in the year 640 A.D. by the Arab conquerors who gave the death-blow to Greek civilization in Egypt. Again we hear the number 900,000 named as telling the list of books in the Alexandrian Library at the time of the Arab conquests, and here, as before, we may accept the number as a vague and general estimate of the enormous size of the collection.

According to the familiar story a heroic effort was made on the part of the Greeks to preserve their beloved library, and the Arab conqueror was disposed to yield to their request. He dared not do so, however, without first sending word to Omar, the Khedive, at Medina. Omar's reply has passed into a proverb: "If the books of the library," he said, "are the same as the Koran, they are useless; if not the same, they are worse than useless. In either case let them be destroyed." There was no court of appeal from this decision, and so the treasured books of Alexandria were sent to make fires in the various baths of the city, and it is alleged that for six months no other fuel was required. Thus was dissipated finally the most extraordinary collection of books of antiquity.

It must be added that there are grave historical doubts as to this alleged final destruction of the Alexandrian Library by the Arabs. It appears that the story rests on the very insecure foundation of a narrative by Abulpharadje, written in the thirteenth century. The story has taken its place among the disputed events of history, but the probability seems to be that there was no Alexandrian library in existence at the time of the Arab conquest, the last great collection of books there having been destroyed by Theophilus. In this view, it was not Mohammedan, but Christian zeal and bigotry that deprived posterity of the treasures of ancient learning.

When one speaks of books, one thinks naturally enough of the familiar bound volumes of to-day, but it hardly needs saying that there were no books having the appearance of these in the ancient collection of Alexandria. The books here referred to were in the main written on sheets of papyrus, not folded, but made into rolls. Doubtless a great many of the books, particularly those from Pergamus, were written, not on papyrus, but on parchment. From the earliest day the skins of animals had been used at least occasionally for purposes of book-making, as is shown by the familiar passage in which Herodotus states that the Ionian Greeks were one time forced to use this material when the supply of papyrus from Egypt failed them. But it was a classical tradition that true parchment was the invention of King Eumenes of Pergamus, the name "parchment" itself, indeed, being derived from Pergamus, the name of the city where it was alleged the substance was first employed.

It was said that Eumenes had been forced to make this substitution because the kings of Egypt, jealous of the growing influence of the Seleucian capital, had refused to export papyrus, hoping thereby to shut out the threatened rivalry of the library of Eumenes. Whatever the truth of this story, it is clear that parchment was invented some centuries before the Christian era, and we have no reason to doubt that it was used to a considerable extent throughout the Ptolemaic period. It may be questioned, however, whether it gained any special vogue in Egypt, where the abundance and cheapness of papyrus would naturally stand in the way of its introduction. One may suppose, arguing merely from the uniformity of human traits in all generations, that editions *du luxe* of certain books may have been issued in which parchment took the place of papyrus. But if such was the case, either the scarcity of these, or their more perishable nature, has prevented any examples from coming down to us. In any event, then, papyrus was the usual book-making material of Ptolemaic Egypt, as it had been indeed of the Egypt of the old régime for some thousands of years. Papyrus occupied then exactly the position that paper occupies in the Western world to-day, and it is quite fitting that the word "paper" should have been derived from the word "papyrus."

The art of manufacturing papyrus was a relatively simple one, requiring more of patience than of special skill or ingenuity. The stem of the papyrus plant, or the pieces of the bark stripped from these stems, were laid together to form two sheets, the fibres of one lying at right angles to those of the other. Some glutinous medium was then applied, and the whole being dried under pressure became a sheet of papyrus. These sheets were usually from six to twelve inches wide, and they were neatly fastened together in the manufacture to form strips long enough often to receive the entire text of a book, so that such a work as, for example, the *Iliad*, when placed on the market or upon the shelves of the library, might occupy but a single roll.

In addition to papyrus, a common medium for the reception of writing was a thin slab of wood. From an early day such slabs of wood, carved usually to a lower level in the centre and curiously resembling a child's slate of to-day, were used as writing tablets very generally both in Greece and Rome, the writing surface being usually covered with wax. Such tablets, often bound together in several sheets, were used for various business purposes until a late period of Roman history. But it was also customary in Egypt to write on bits of wood with ink. It may be doubted whether books in the proper sense of the word were ever written on this

material, but business documents are still extant to testify to the prevalence of this custom.

Plate 62, which is a Tax Bill on wood, dating from the third century B.C., illustrates this custom, while at the same time presenting one of the oldest known pieces of writing in the Greek language on any less perishable material than stone.

The Tax Receipt from Thebes, shown in Plate 63, is a document on papyrus of a like age.

The official documents from Memphis, Plate 64, are a century later in date, as is also the document shown in Plates 65 and 65a: the one a dialectical treatise, the other a portion of a famous oration of Hyperides.

The example of Homer's *Iliad* shown in Plate 65b presents a yet later form of the Greek script, dating from the first century B.C.

A glance at these plates shows that two very different types of writing are presented. The language throughout is Greek, and the characters are fundamentally the same, but the documents of one set, as represented by Plates 62, 63, and 64, have the appearance of being produced hurriedly, as if the scribe were impatient of the time consumed and were anxious to make an end of his task. All of these, it will be observed, are business documents.

The writing on the next three plates, on the other hand, is much more even and methodical. Here, apparently, the scribe has aimed at neatness and clearness, and this is precisely what one might expect when one considers that these are no longer the hurried transcripts of business dealings, money bills, tax receipts, and the like, but are the text of books. In a word, these portions of a dialectical treatise, the Hyperides, and the Homer are specimens of what would be the permanent literature of the time. The papyrus rolls, here in part fac-similed, constituted books written no doubt for sale in the market; that is to say, serving precisely the purpose of the modern printed book.

It is obvious that much the same difference in kind, if a less difference in degree, existed between the cursive hand of every-day life and the book-hand of these ancient manuscripts, that is seen to-day between the script of ordinary correspondence and the type of the ordinary book. We shall see that throughout the course of the development of writing in succeeding ages this difference is always and everywhere to be noted. Book-making is always a relatively leisurely task in which accuracy and clearness are aimed at, whereas the business scribe is always tending to adopt short cuts and to develop a cursive script.

One other word should be said about the characters in which these earliest Greek manuscripts are written. The close similarity of many of the letters to the letters of the yet more ancient Greek inscriptions, and, indeed, to the original Phoenician itself, will be apparent, but a no less apparent similarity is shown to the capital letters which we still employ to this day.

This extraordinary conservatism of the book-hand of Europe we shall have occasion to remark upon again and again. No other writing has preserved with anything like a corresponding accuracy the forms of so many of the letters of the earliest Semitic alphabet. But, on the other hand, it will be obvious, to any one having the slightest acquaintance with Greek texts as commonly printed to-day, that such texts differ very widely from the ancient ones shown in this manuscript. We shall see presently how this modern Greek script was developed about a thousand years after the Ptolemaic epoch, and shall have occasion to point out that the ancient Greek writer would be quite unable to read his own productions could he see them in their modern garb. But this script of the ancient Greek, as shown in Plates 65 and 65a, probably differs but little from the characters in which the works of classical Greece were first printed. The steps of development by which this ancient script became modified we shall have opportunity to follow in the succeeding chapters.

There is one feature of the ancient writing which these manuscripts, in common with most of the monumental inscriptions, present that is sure to strike the modern reader as extraordinary, whether or not he understands the language in which the inscriptions are written. This is the fact that the letters follow one another right through each line without any obvious breaks to indicate the words, and without any attempt at punctuation. It is a curious and highly interesting fact that the most archaic of alphabetical inscriptions—the Moabite Stone—shows the words divided or separated from one another by dots. We have already seen that the ancient Persians adopted a similar expedient, marking their words with straight lines. There are a few of the most ancient Greek manuscripts in existence which also illustrate the same custom, their words being separated by marks similar to our colon.

These examples show that the idea of facilitating the reading of texts by separating the words had presented itself at the very earliest stages of alphabetical writing. But the examples before us show that for one reason or another this seemingly very plausible custom had been abandoned long before the Christian era, and we shall see that a thousand years or so elapsed before the good old custom was revived. It would seem almost as if the scribes of antiquity and of the Middle Ages went out of their way to make reading difficult. Unless it were the desire to do so partly with the idea of keeping all rudiments of education from the masses, one can hardly understand why so useful a custom as that of marking the divisions between words should have gone out of use.

PLATE 62. TAX BILL FROM THEBES (B.C. 254 or 253)

British Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, No. 5,849C

**M**ONEY Bill in Greek—bearing the names of Tathautis and Taabis, daughters of 2minis—for the sum of seventy drachmas, payable on the eighteenth of the month of Epeiph, in the thirty-first year of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 254 or 253). A wooden tablet, measuring  $5\frac{1}{4}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches, inscribed with ink.

There are two other tablets connected with the transaction to which this tablet refers, the one in Paris and the other in Berlin. In the previous year Teos and Zminis, caretakers of a sacred ibu which died on their hands, being unable to provide for its burial with the requisite ceremonies, raised the means by loan from the public exchequer, which issued two bills for securing repayment; the second bill, as is stated in this tablet, being assigned to Dorion, toparch of the district around Thebes.

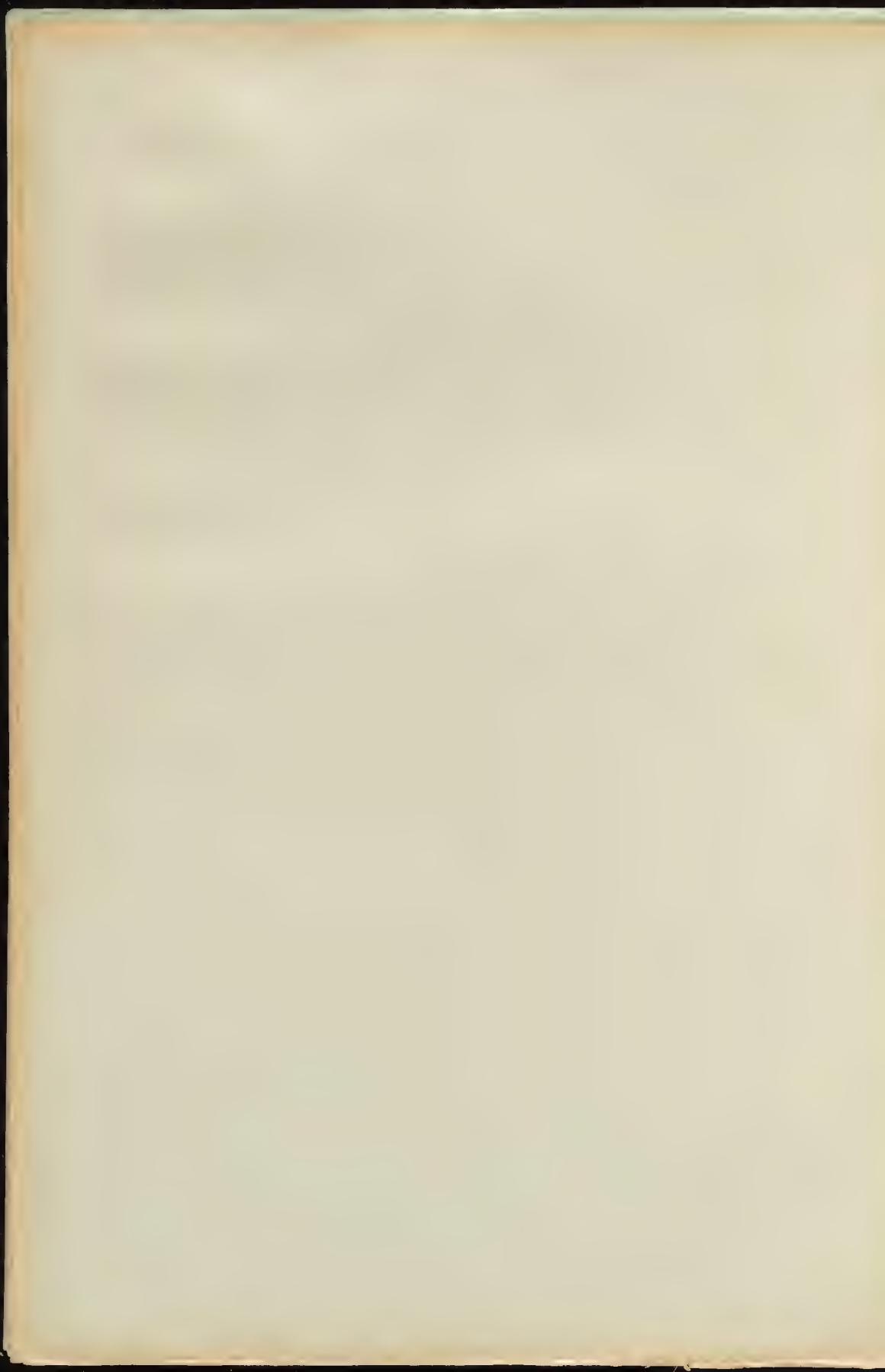
The transaction is described by M. Revillout, "Un Bilingue Monétaire," in *Revue Egyptologique*, vol. ii (1882), p. 266, and appendix, p. 51, who renders the demotic subscription at the foot of the tablet, "écrite (au souscrit) Nesmin (Zminis) à 3 argenteus et 4 stateres," meaning that Zminis stands surety for the payment of the principal sum of seventy drachmas (an argenteus being equal to twenty drachmas) by his two daughters.

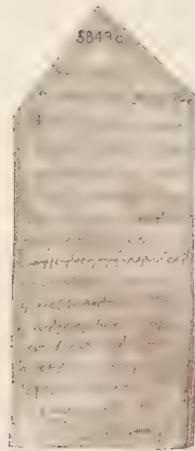
This fragment is one of the earliest Greek documents extant and is of peculiar palaeographical interest, being in cursive hand, and several of the letters are already so altered from the uncial forms as to be practically minuscules. A is in both uncial form and more cursorily written as an acute angle; in B the two bows are slurred together into a curve; B resembles a truncated h; @ and

o are small; m in its more cursive form becomes a wide angular curve following an initial down-stroke, something like a Roman n distended; and II also resembles n, and is likewise found in the form of a curve—the similarity of the most cursive shapes of the two letters being often very close; the last stroke of N is generally thrown up above the line, and the letter sometimes becomes a mere curved flourish; t in its more cursive shape loses the right half of the cross stroke; y is often in the y-shape; the down stroke of cursive f falls outside the circle instead of cutting it; and w is in the form of v, continuing in a slightly curved stroke, and may be compared to an unfinished w. The writing should be compared with the fac-similes of the cursive documents of the third century B.C. found at Gurob by Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, and edited by Prof. J. P. Mahaffy in *Cunningham Memoirs*, No. VIII (Royal Irish Academy).

The Greek is as follows:

[ετο.] λα σπειρ ιη  
τελλα τε βανους  
και ταυτι βανους  
τελλη ρ εσφαλι και  
τηρ προφθειται και του  
πρωτων την διδασ ιη γιη  
και μετρει το επων υπο  
ταβανη το πιστο οη  
διμητων την τετραγωνη  
το τε περι θηγανη τοτον  
και προσβαλλοντα τον και  
βανους δι ποιησανθον πρωτο  
ρον των μεταλλων αλ παρε  
βονα ταβανηι και ταν  
Βε ειτ απελανθρων [βραχηα.]  
[δραχηα.] ειδομηνησα





TAX BILL FROM THEBES

(B. C. 254 or 253)

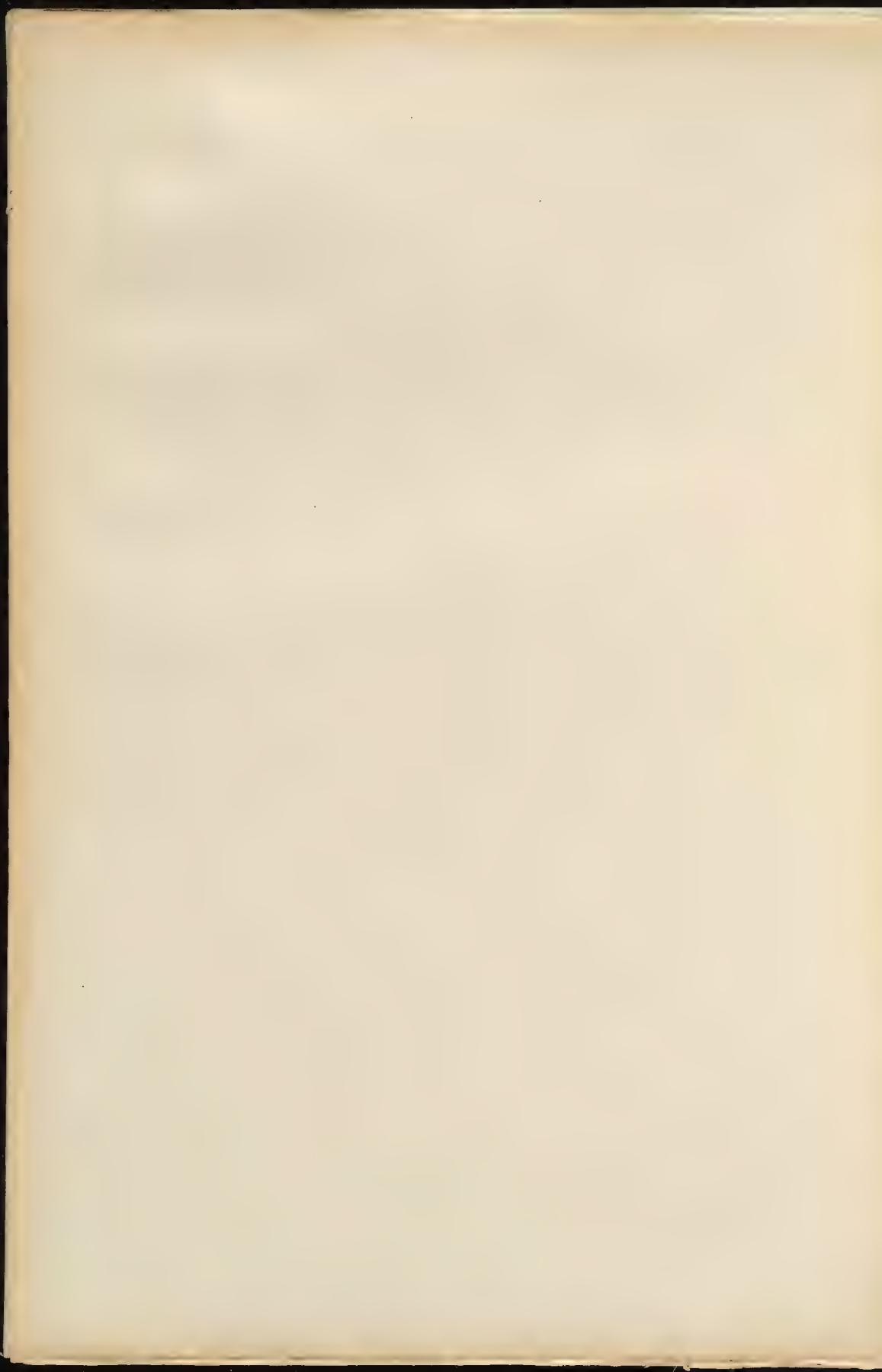


PLATE 63. TAX RECEIPT FROM THEBES  
(B.C. 211 OR 210)

British Museum, Demotic Papyrus, No. 10,463

**R**ECEIPT in Greek, issued by Hermocles (son of Saranopenios, collector of taxes in Thebes, in Upper Egypt) to Thoteus, son of Psemminis, and Nikon, also called Petechonis, son of Athanion, for the payment of the tax on land in the Pathyritic Nome, dated 4th of the month of Tybi, in the thirteenth year of Ptolemy Philopator (A.C. 208 or 209). It is written as a docket to a deed of sale inscribed in the demotic character on a long sheet of papyrus. It was in the reign of this king that the power of the Ptolemies declined; and a few years later the land became a dependency of Rome. Nevertheless, as will be seen by the documents in Chapter XIV, the Greek character was in use in Egypt during the Roman period. The business documents on this and the preceding plate should be compared with those on plates 67, 69, 71, and 74, which are of a much later period. This record exhibits similar characteristics to the Tax Bill shown on Plate 62.

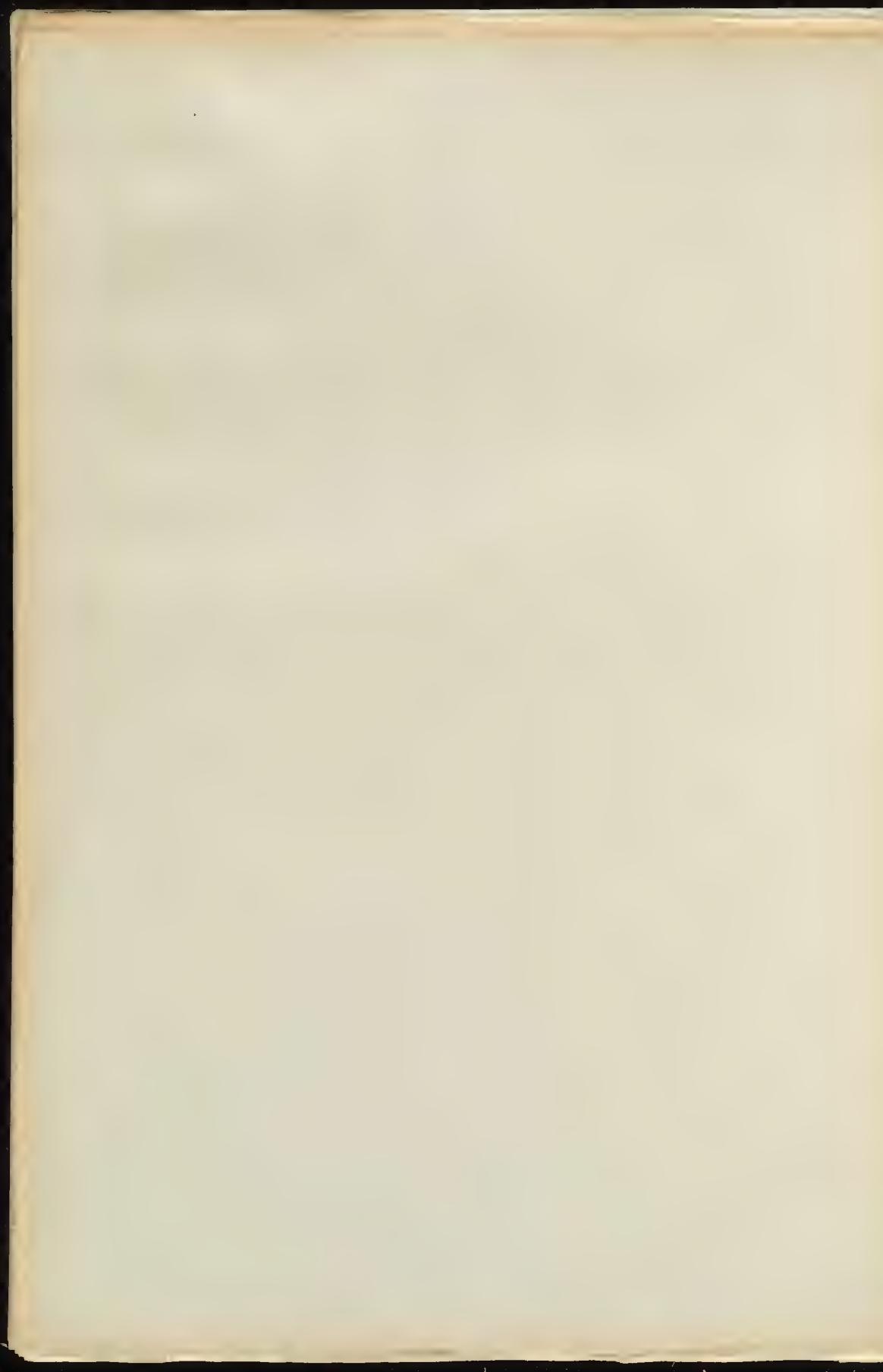
The first three lines in modern type read:

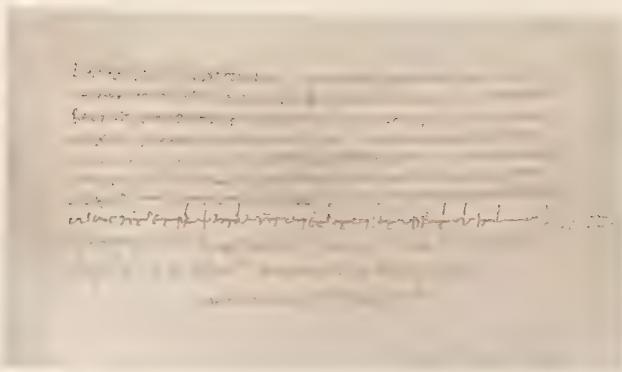
[ερμός] εγ τε β. δ πεπτωκεν επι, το επ δέον καλεσθην  
τελωνευ τον γρανάι α. ερ οι φραγίνοι ο προσετετανοι  
θεατέλοι πραγματο τον φέμανοι και πένοντες τε.

This document is also described in the Palaeographical Society's *Fac-similes*, Series II, Vol. ii.

In ancient times Egypt was divided into nomes, or districts, under the charge of nomarchs. The main divisions were, however, "the Upper and Lower regions," a distinction which has been maintained from earliest times.

The Pathyritic nome was that part of Upper Egypt of which Thebes was the capital. It has been conjectured that the Pathros mentioned in the Bible was the Pathyritic Nome. Ezekiel (chap. xxix, v. 14) speaks of the return of the captive Egyptians to "the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation."





TAX RECEIPT FROM THEBES

(B. C. 211 or 210)

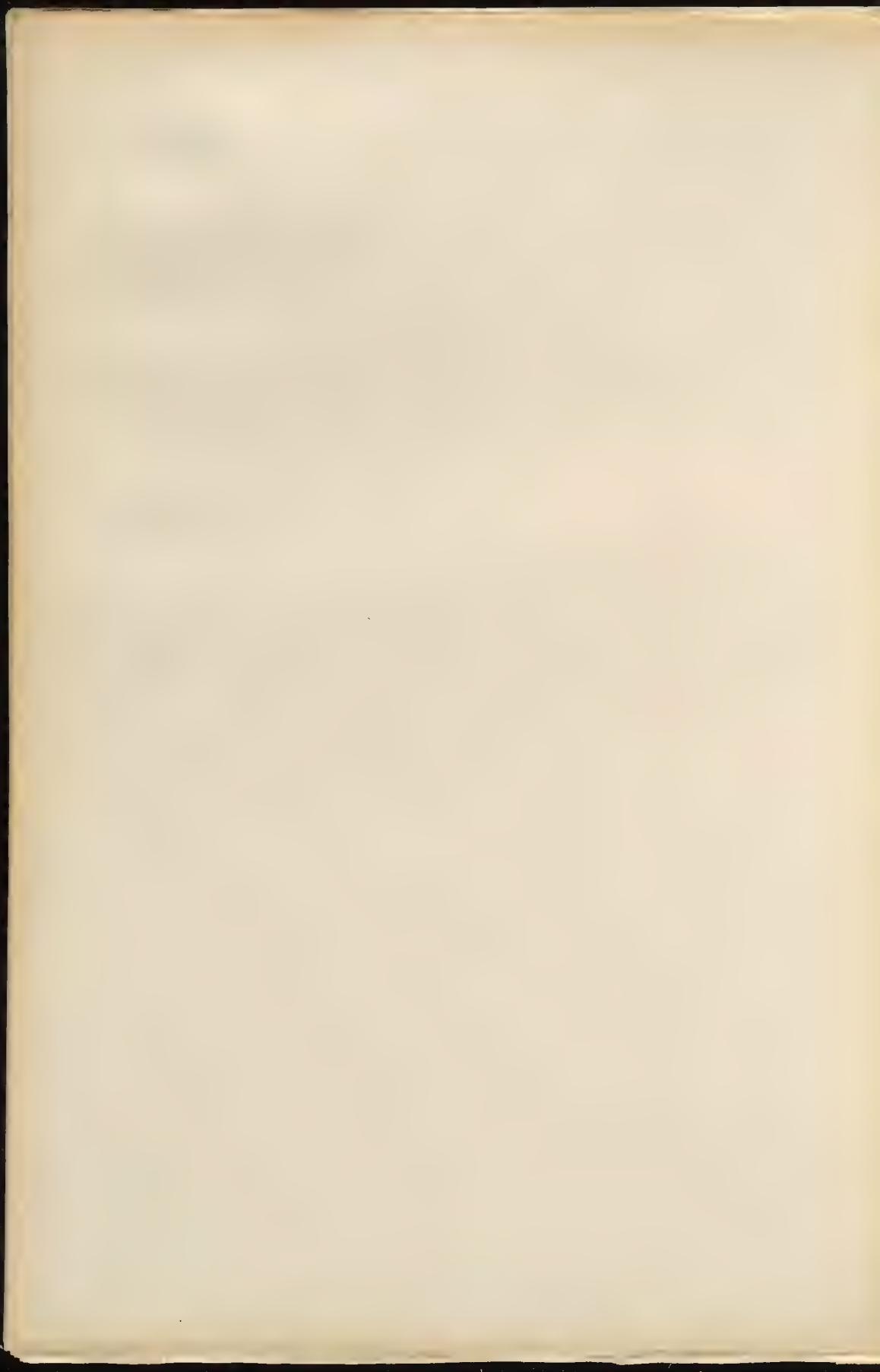


PLATE 64. DOCUMENTS FROM MEMPHIS

Right Figure. Petition from Memphis, B.C. 163. British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. XXII

PETITION of the twin sisters Taues and Taus, hierodules or servants in the Temple of Serapis at Memphis, addressed to the sub-administrator of finances, Serapion, and praying for the delivery of arrears of an allowance of oil; an annual perquisite which had been granted to them, as it was to other twins who had preceded them in the service of the Serapeum. The document states that the petitioners had received nothing since the month of Thoth in the seventh year, *i.e.* of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, who was associated in the government with his brother Ptolemy Philometor, after the latter had been already eleven years upon the throne. From the evidence of other documents it appears that the petition was presented on the occasion of Serapion visiting the temple in the month of Mesori (July August) in the following year, the nineteenth of Ptolemy Philometor, B.C. 163. See Forshall, *Description of the Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 1839, p. 14; and Feyron, *Papiros Greci*, etc., 1841, p. 48.

The papyrus measures 12½ by 4½ inches. Written in bold uncials, without separation of words. The letters are occasionally connected by a horizontal stroke, as *e.g.* ΗΜΙ in ΗΜΙΝ, l. 7; ΠΡ in ΠΡΟΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΑΙ, l. 10; ΗΝ in ΚΑΤΑΦΥΓΕΝ, l. 21; ΗΣ in ΗΕΡΙΑΒΙΣ, l. 22; ΧΡ in ΧΡΕΙΑΣ, l. 27. Among the forms of letters the following may be noticed: Β has a broad base, and descends below the line: the central bar of Μ is only slightly curved: Ζ is formed by a small Λ surmounted by a waving horizontal stroke: Ο is small: Τ is generally made, like the finishing strokes of Η, Μ, and Ι, without raising the pen, by drawing down the main stroke from the end of the horizontal; more rarely, half the horizontal and the main stroke are formed together, and the second half of the horizontal is then added, as in ΤΗΞ, l. 25; Υ is made on the same plan as the Τ, but the strokes are more curved: the loop of Φ is flattened.

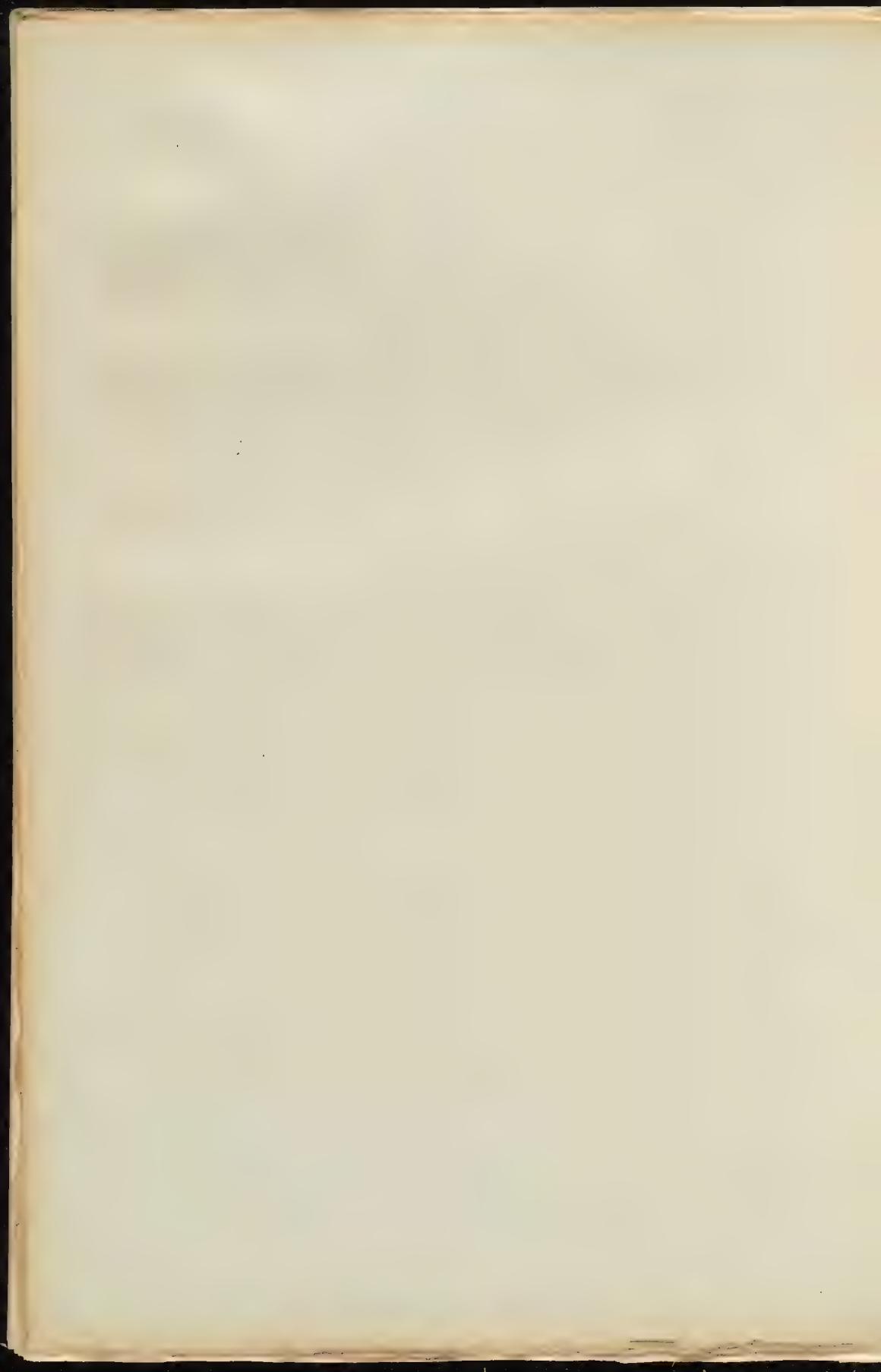
The symbol L is used for *fron* (year).—*Paleographical Society.*

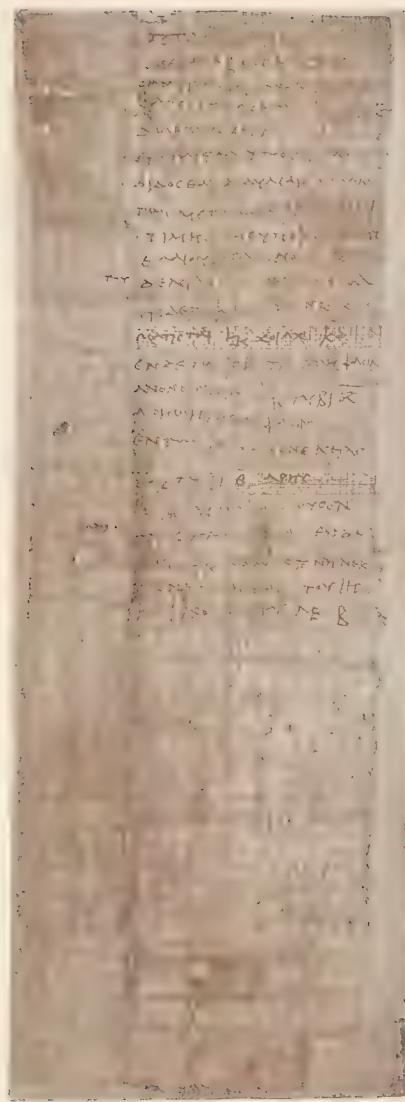
Left Figure. Official Document from Memphis, B.C. 161. British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. XXXIV.

Memorandum of proceedings taken on a petition of the same twins Taues and Taus to Ptolemy Philometor for the arrears of oil due to them in his twentieth year, and including the reports of Dorian, the comptroller, and of Ares, the official answerable for the distribution of the oil in the months of Choiac and Tybi (December and January) in the same year. The date of the document is therefore B.C. 161.

There are several other documents extant relating to this same complaint. The twins were sisters who had succeeded other twins in the service of the Temple of Serapis at Memphis and who had received allowances or perquisites of oil. The documents were found in a buried vase on the site of the temple.

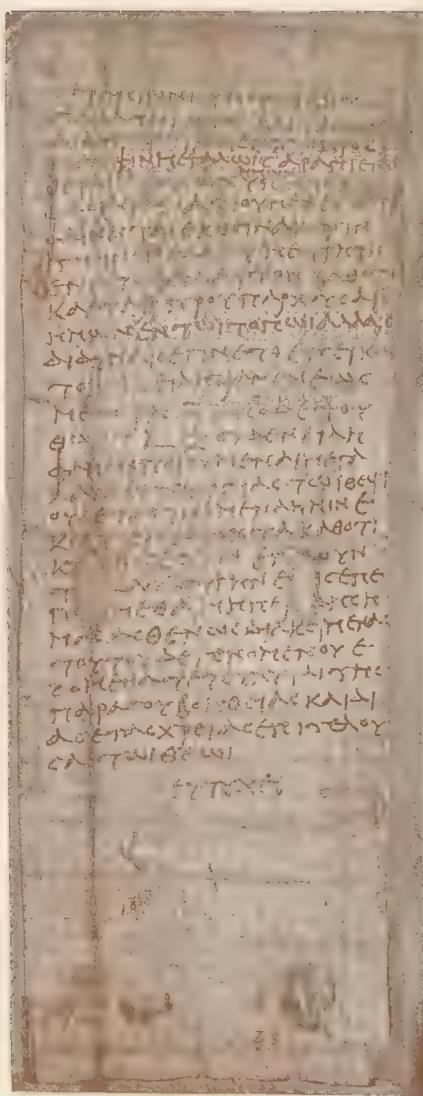
Papyrus, 13 by 4½ inches, half of which is used. Written in uncials, with partial separation of words. The letters are occasionally joined together, but the connecting strokes are not always very strongly defined: see *e.g.* ΝΗΝ in ΑΝΕΝΗΝΟΞΕΝ, l. 3; ΗΣ in ΤΗΞ and in ΥΝΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΣ, l. 9. The characters are small and not very carefully formed: Β is large, rising above and descending below the line: Ζ is also large: Μ is nearer to the capital form: Ζ is in three horizontal strokes: Ο is small: Τ is in three forms, the ordinary letter, the minuscule γ shape, and Τ with the cross stroke divided: Ι is loosely formed, the last stroke often detached.





OFFICIAL DOCUMENT FROM MEMPHIS

(B. C. 161)



PETITION FROM MEMPHIS

(B. C. 163)



## PLATE 65. DIALECTICAL TREATISE, SECOND CENTURY B.C.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Papiri Greci, No. 2

**P**ORTION of a treatise, in Greek, on dialectic (or the art of reasoning), containing several quotations from Greek poets (Sappho, Alcman, Anacreon, Ibycus, Thespis, Euripides, etc.), some of which are not otherwise known. On the back of the papyrus are some accounts, and a record of certain dreams, written by Ptolemy, son of Glauias, a recluse of the Serapeum at Memphis (the same who originally interested himself in the petition of the twin sisters mentioned in connection with plate 64), in the month Pharmouthi of the twenty-second year of Ptolemy Philometor, A.C. 160-159. The treatise is consequently earlier than this date, and may be placed in the first half of the second century B.C. It consists, in its present state, of fifteen columns of writing, the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth being here reproduced.

The writing is of delicately formed uncials. The margin tends to the left (as in other very early manuscripts). There are paragraph marks and horizontal punctuation.

The plate begins with :

σαπφον τοιούτην εχει  
· αλκμανον είναι την  
τραγῳδίαν επειδή

Of the poets whose works are quoted in this interesting old manuscript :

Sappho, reputed among the greatest of female poets, flourished about the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries B.C. She was a native of Lesbos, where she became the centre of a brilliant society and head of a great poetic school. In antiquity, the fame of Sappho rivalled that of Homer. Plato called her "the tenth Muse," and by other writers she was termed "the flower of the Graces," "a miracle," "the beautiful"—the last epithet referring to her writings, not to her person, which is said to have been small and dark. Her poems—hymns, elegies, and erotic odes of exquisite beauty—were arranged in nine books; but only the ode to Aphrodite and a few fragments have come down to us.

Alcman, or Alcmeon, was one of the most ancient and, in the opinion of the Alexandrian critics, the most distinguished of the lyric poets of Greece. He was a native of Lydia, or of Sparta, in which latter place he lived from an early age, about the period 670 to 630 B.C. His poems, many of them erotic, and other hymns, paens, and didactic pieces make about six books, and are written in the vigorous, broad dialect of the Dorians. "He boasts to have imitated the song of birds—in other words, to have been a self-taught and original poet" (Mahaffy). An excellent collection of his poetical fragments was published by F. G. Welcker, Giesen, 1815, 4to.

Of the five books of Anacreon's writings, mentioned by Suidas and Athenaeus as extant in their time, only the merest fragments remain. Born at Teos about 562 B.C., he became one of the most famous of Greek amateur lyric poets. His hymns to Diana and Bacchus, consisting of eight and eleven lines, respectively, stand first among his undisputed remains. Mainly because of the character of his writings, he was accused of sensualism and bibulous propensities; but Athenaeus, as well as Horace, strongly repudiates the brutal characterization as fit only for "barbarians" and "Scythians."

Ibycus, a Greek lyric poet, who flourished about 540 B.C., was a native of Rhegium in Italy. Of his seven books a few fragments only have come down to us, but they are sufficient to support Cicero's estimate of the author, whom he pronounces (*Tusc.*, iv. 33) "maxime vero omnium flagrassae amore." The best edition of the remains is *Ibyci Regini Carminum Reliquiae*, edited by Schneidewin, and published at Göttingen in 1833. His death said to have been tragic—is the subject of one of Schiller's poems, *Die Kränze des Ibycus*.

Thespis, an Attic poet, who lived about 540 B.C., has been styled the father of Greek tragedy; but his

works have perished, the titles only of four dramas being preserved. He is said to have introduced monologues and, perhaps, dialogues into the dithyrambic choruses. The first of his tragedies, *The Combat of Pelias*, was played in 535; the titles of the others are *The Priests*, *The Young Greeks*, *Penthe*, *Alceste*.

Euripides, one of the greatest of Grecian tragic poets, was born in Salamis in 480 B.C.—on the very day, according to a popular tradition, of the famous battle of Salamis.

In a poetical career of about fifty years he is said to have written ninety-two dramas, including eight satyr plays, of which nineteen only are extant. The best critics of antiquity allowed seventy-five as genuine. Nauck has collected 1,117 Euripidean fragments. Among these numbers 1,092-1,117 are doubtful or spurious; numbers 842-1,091 are from plays of uncertain title; numbers 1-841 represent fifty-five lost pieces, among which some of the best known are the *Andromeda*, *Antiope*, *Bellerophon*, *Creshphontes*, *Erechtheus*, *Edipus*, *Phaethon*, and *Telepus*.

The manuscript tradition of Euripides has a very curious and instructive history. It throws a suggestive light on the capricious nature of the process by which some of the greatest literary treasures have been saved or lost. Nine plays of Euripides were selected, probably in early Byzantine times, for popular and educational uses. These were : *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Rhesus*, *Troades*. This list includes at least two plays, the *Andromache* and the *Troades*, which, even in the small number of the extant dramas, are universally allowed to be of very inferior merit—to say nothing of the *Rhesus*, which is generally allowed to be spurious. On the other hand, the list omits at least three plays of first-rate beauty and excellence, the very flower, indeed, of the extant collection—the *Ion*, the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and the *Bacchae* the last certainly, in its own kind, by far the most splendid work of Euripides that we possess. Had these three plays been lost, it is not too much to say that the modern estimate of Euripides must have been decidedly lower. But all the ten plays not included in the select list had a narrow escape of being lost, and as it is, have come to us in a much less satisfactory condition.

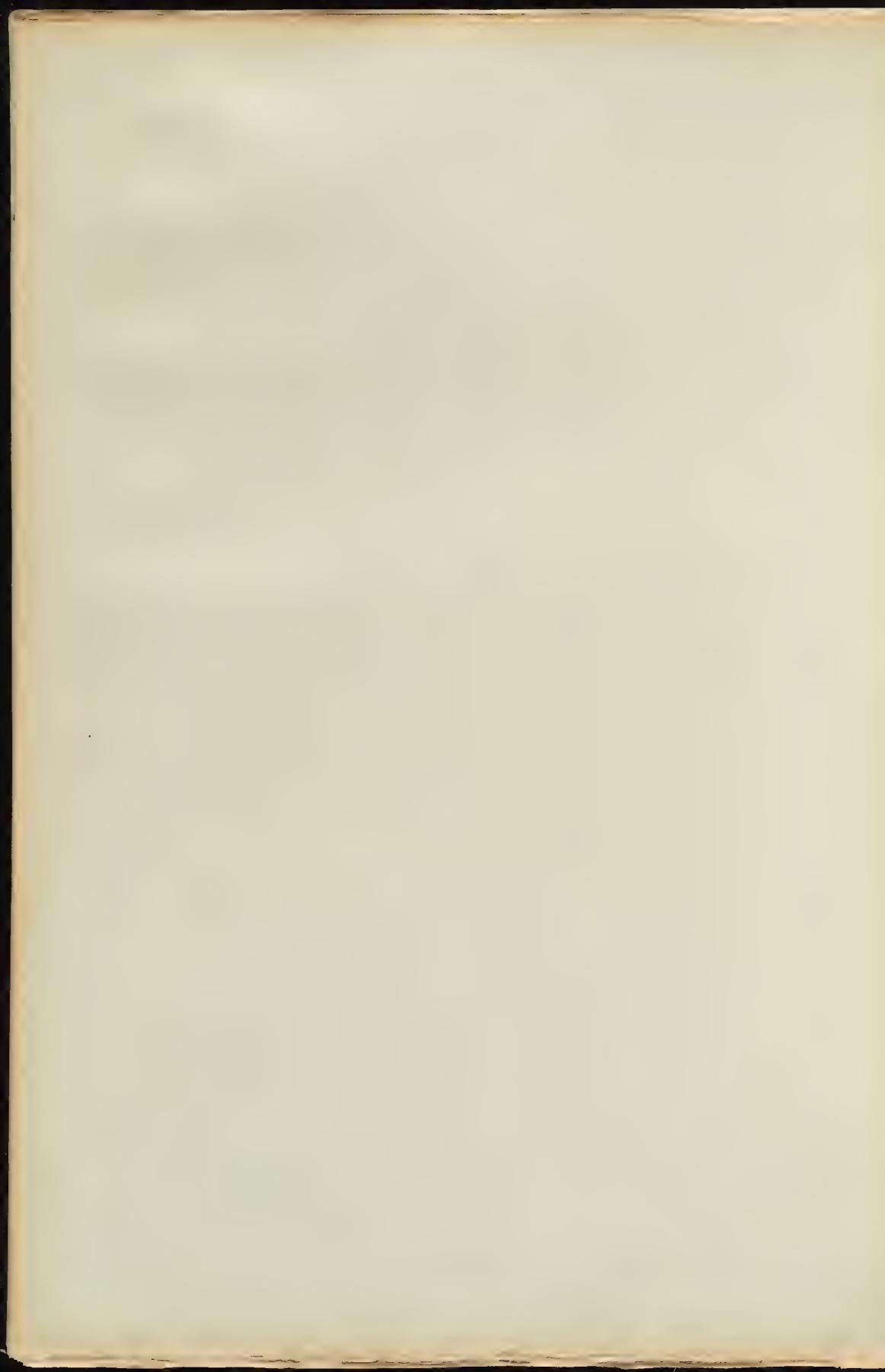
Kirchhoff, who has thoroughly investigated the history and the affinities of the Euripidean manuscripts, thinks that all our manuscripts are derived from a lost archetype of the ninth or tenth century, which contained the nineteen plays (including the *Rhesus*) now extant. In 1,100 A.D. a copy was made from this archetype containing only the nine select plays. This copy became the source of all our best manuscripts for those plays.

These manuscripts are : (1) Marcianus 471, in the library of St. Mark at Venice (twelfth century); *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus* (to v. 1234), *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*; (2) Vaticanus 909, twelfth century, nine plays; (3) Parisinus 2712, thirteenth century, seven plays (all but *Troades* and *Rhesus*). Of the same stock, but inferior, are (4) Marcianus 468, thirteenth century; *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Medea* (v. 1-42), *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*; (5) Haniensis (from Hafniae, Copenhagen, according to Mr. Paley), a late transcript from a manuscript resembling Vaticanus 909, nine plays. A second family of manuscripts for the nine plays sprung from the same copy, but modified by a Byzantine recension of the thirteenth century, is greatly inferior.

The other ten plays have come to us only through the preservation of two manuscripts, both of the fourteenth century, and both ultimately derived, as Kirchhoff surmises, from the archetype of the ninth or tenth century.

Euripides was killed in 406 B.C., supposedly by dogs, which were set upon him by jealous courtiers.

Aristotle termed him the most tragic of the Greek tragic writers.



ΕΝΙΓΜΑ ΔΙΑΚΕΛΟΥΧΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΩΝ ΝΑΙ ΙΔΙΑΙ ΛΑΝΤΟΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΤΙΟΣ ΟΔΙΑΝΙΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ  
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#### DIALECTICAL TREATISE

(2nd CENTURY B. C.)

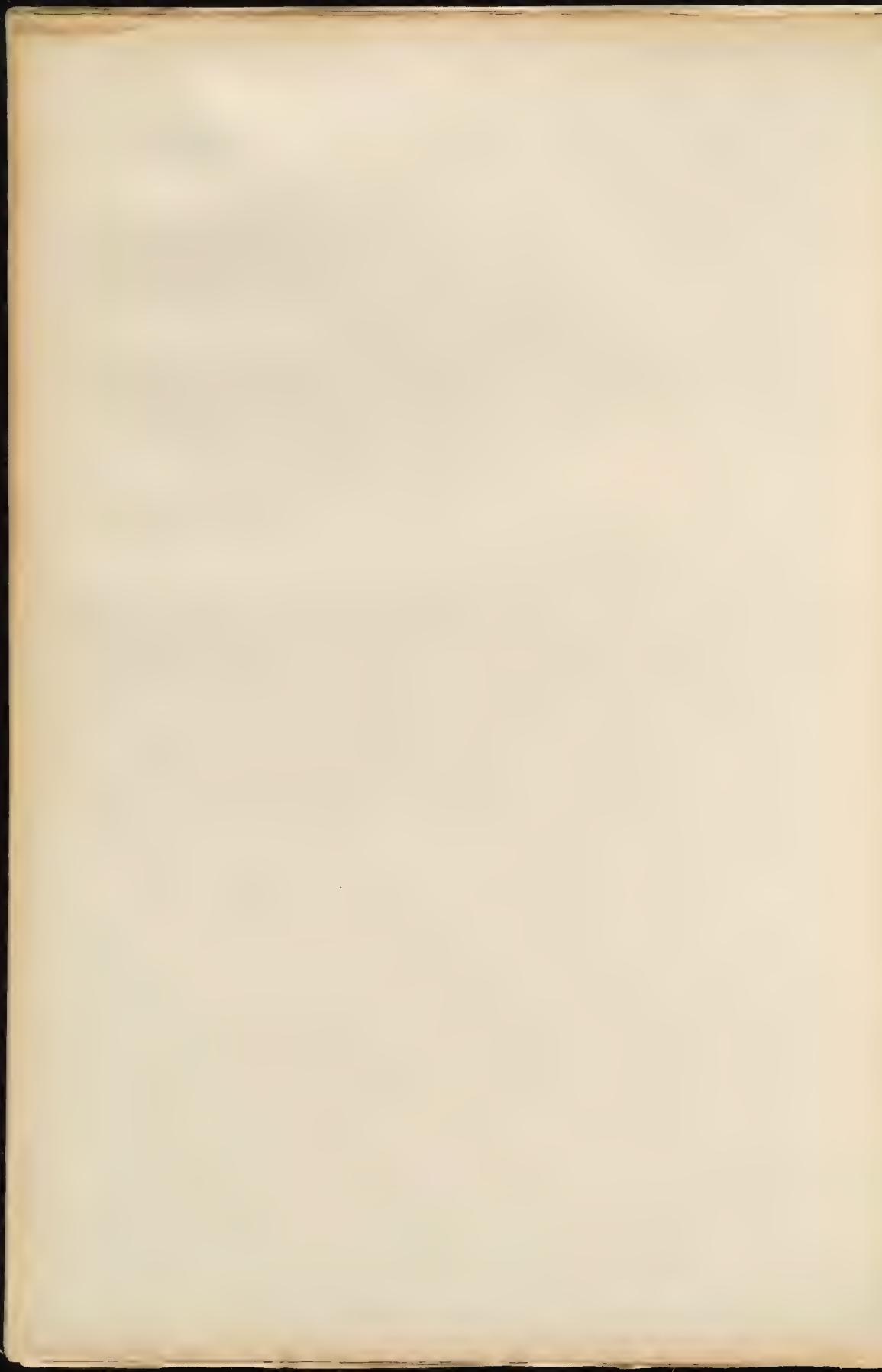


PLATE 65a. HYPERIDES (SECOND OR FIRST  
CENTURY B.C.)

British Museum, Papyrus No. CVIII

**F**RAGMENTS of a papyrus roll containing portions of two orations of Hyperides, the one against Demosthenes respecting the treasure of Harpalus, the other in defence of Lycophon. The plate represents a fragment of the latter oration. The full width of the roll was about 12 inches. The text is arranged in columns of about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by 2 inches, with intervals of nearly an inch wide. The number of lines in a full column appears to have been from twenty-seven to twenty-nine or thirty.

The fragments were obtained in 1817 at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, by Mr. A. C. Harris of Alexandria; and another and less injured portion of the roll, containing parts of the orations for Lycophon and Eukenippus, was purchased there in the same year by Mr. Joseph Arden from the Arabs, who stated that it had been found at Gournon in the district of Western Thebes. See the edition of A. C. Harris, *Fragments of an Oration against Demosthenes*, London, 1847; Professor Churchill Babington's *The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes*, Cambridge, 1850; and *The Orations of Hyperides for Lycophon and for Eukenippus*, Cambridge, 1853.

The writing is in small elegant uncials; sometimes at the end of a line the omission of *υ* is marked with a fine wavy line; and there are no points. Arrow heads fill up end spaces; there are small spaces between sentences; and some of the strokes are continued to form part of the next letter, as in the word, *ευνοει* in the last line of the second column.

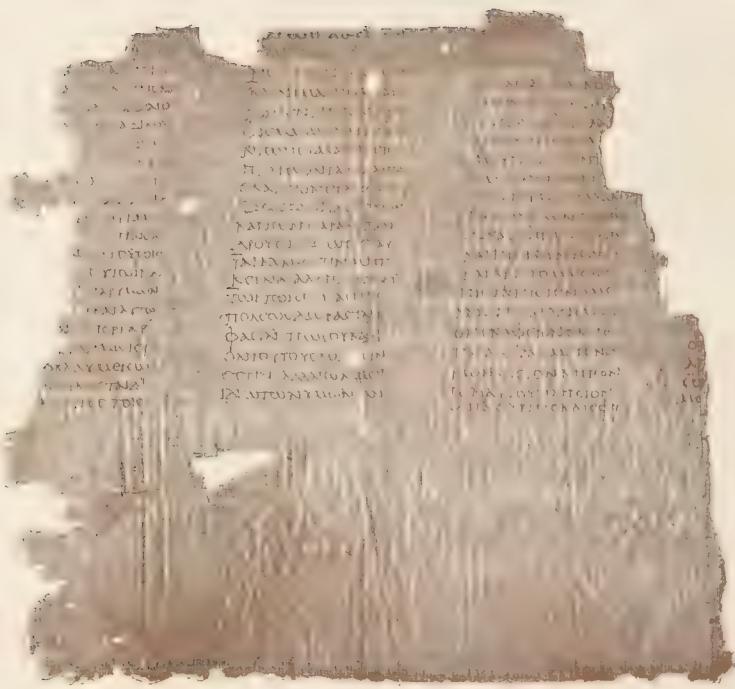
The upper lines of the middle column read:

Δε γε τοι πολλα ποτε ε  
ται το λαρυγγον  
υον κατα δημοσιον θρηνον  
και φωνησιν επι αταν[ε]

Hyperides, one of the ten Attic orators, was a student of Plato and Isocrates, and in 360 B.C. prosecuted Autocles on the charge of treason. He was also one of the ten prosecutors of Demosthenes, and the chief promoter of the Lamian War against Antipater and Craterus. In 322 B.C. he was condemned to death, but fled to Ægina, where Antipater's emissaries found him and dragged him forth to be put to death at Athens. His composition was specially distinguished for subtlety of expression, grace, and wit, as well as for tact in approaching his case and handling his subject matter. Cicero ranks him next to Demosthenes, and in our day Professor Jebb designates him "the Sheridan of Athens."

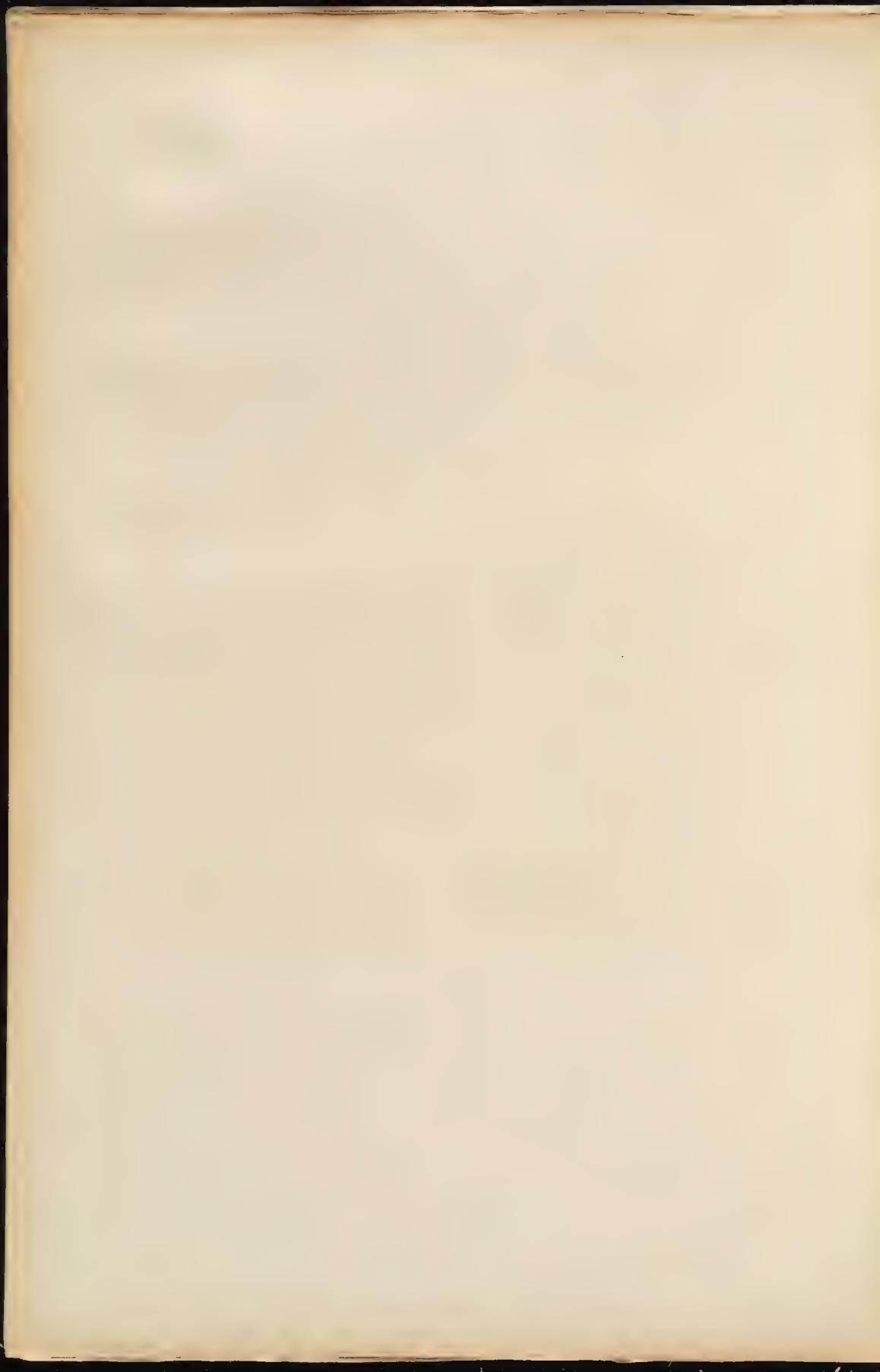
Besides the manuscript above described, important portions of four of his orations were discovered in 1856.





HYPERIDES

2nd or 1st CENTURY B.C.



## PLATE 65b. HOMER'S ILIAD. FIRST CENTURY B.C.

British Museum, Papyrus No. CVII

THE *Iliad* of Homer, book XVIII, lines 1-171, the first words of 172-218 and 311-617, contained in two portions of a papyrus roll, which measures 29 inches by 10 inches, and 36½ inches by 10 inches, the first having four columns of writing and a section of a fifth column, and the second seven columns generally with from 41 to 45 lines in a column. Written, perhaps, in the first century B.C. The fragments were obtained in 1849 and 1850 by Mr. A. C. Harris, of Alexandria, from a tomb known as the Crocodile Pit, at Ma'abdey near Monfata, in Egypt. See Cat. of Ancient MSS., in B. M. part I. Greek page 1.—*Paleographical Society.*

The papyrus is very much discolored, so that the isochromatic process was used in making the photographic fac-simile. Different episodes are marked between the lines with the sign > (see about four inches down left side). The manuscript appears to have been corrected by a later hand, which supplied the accents. A few words have been underlined, presumably to assist the reader in intonation : e.g. ἀντρόποιος (second column, line 16).

The plate represents the *Iliad* XVIII, lines 84 to 173.

A free translation of the verses shown on the plate reads as follows :

Deeply groaning spake unto her the swift-footed Achilles : [“Mother mine, these things indeed hath the Olympian king wrought for me; but alas! to what end? since Patroclus, my dear companion, is dead, even Patroclus, the best-beloved of my comrades?]

“ Him have I lost; and Hector, who slew him, has stripped off his beautiful and wondrous armour, which the gods gave to Peleus—splendid gift!—on that day when they laid thee in the bed of a mortal man. Would that thou hadst dwelt among the immortal daughters of the sea, and that Peleus had wedded a mortal spouse! But now that immeasurable grief may seize upon thy heart for thy slain son, him shalt thou never again welcome home; since even my soul urges me to abide no longer among men, unless Hector first lose his life, smitten by my spear, and so suffer for the slaughter of Patroclus, the son of Menetius.”

Then answered to him Thetis, pouring forth tears: “Short-lived thou wilt be, O my son, as thou sayest, for after Hector, is death appointed for thee.”

Then to her the swift-footed Achilles mightily moved spake: “ Then may I die even now, since it was not destined that I should aid my companion now slain; but he indeed hath perished afar from his home-land, and in his dire necessity yearned for my avenging arm. And now, since I shall not return to my dear father-land, nor have I been a shield to Patroclus, or to my other companions, who have been slain by the noble Hector, but sit beside the ships an encumbrance upon the earth, I that in war surpass all the brazen-mailed Achaeans, though in council many are better—would therefore that strife might be ended among gods and men; and wrath that stirreth even the very wisest to harshness; and which, sweeter far than dripping honey, ariseth as smoke in the breasts of men. Even so did Agamemnon, king of men, enrage me. But, great though our pain, let us count these things as past and done, subduing, from necessity, our own spirit within our bosoms. Now go I hence to seek out Hector, the destroyer of my dear friend; then will I accept death whosoever Jove and the other immortal gods shall please to accomplish it. For not even the mighty Hercules fled death, though dear to king Jove, the son of Saturn; but Fate and the grievous wrath of Juno overcame him. So also shall I lie low in death, if the same destiny awaits me. But now let me win immortal glory, yea, though some Trojan woman, some richly clad Dardanian daughter, should wail bitterly, dashing away her tears from her tender

cheeks with both her hands; yet must they know that, though absent from battle long, I must return. Wherefore seek not to hinder me from the combat by thy love, for thou wilt not persuade me.”

Him then, Thetis, the silver-footed, answered: “ Of a certainty this is true, O son, nor is it an evil thing to avert destruction from our afflicted comrades. But thy beautiful armor, brazen and shining, is held among the Trojans; even Hector of the nodding plumes himself bears it in triumph on his shoulders; but not for long I wish will he glory in them, for death encompasseth him. But enter thou not into the thick of battle until thou with thine eyes beholdest me coming hither. For at dawn will I return, even at the rising of the sun, bearing beautiful armor from King Vulcan.”

Thus she spake, and turning away from her son, exhorted her sisters of the sea, “ Enter ye now the broad bosom of the deep, where dwelleth the Ancient One, and seek the mansions of my sire and tell him all things. As for me, I go to lofty Olympus, to Vulcan of matchless skill, to ask for my son illustrious, glittering armor.”

Thus spake she, and forthwith sank they beneath the waves of the sea. But Thetis, the silver-footed goddess, ascended to Olympus, that she might bear the illustrious armor to her beloved son. So, unto Olympus her feet bore her; but the Greeks, flying with heaven-splitting cries from manslaughtering Hector, reached the ships and the Hellespont. Nor had the well-greaved Greeks drawn off the dead body of Patroclus the comrade of Achilles, beyond reach of darts; for now again both footmen and horsemen pursued him, and Hector, the son of Priam, in might like unto a devouring flame,—thrice did the illustrious Hector seize him behind by the feet, eager to draw him away, and loudly shouted to the Trojans; and thrice did the two Ajaxes, clad in impetuous might, hurl Hector from the corpse; whilst he, with steady purpose, ever relying on his might, now charged through the combatants, and now stopped, loudly shouting; but never turning backward. But as night-watching shepherds avail not to drive away the tawny lions greatly hungering, so were the two warriors, the Ajaxes, unable to drive away Hector, the son of Priam, of flesh. And now indeed would he have dragged it off, and won imperishable glory, had not fleet wind-footed Iris come down from Olympus as a messenger to the son of Peleus, that he should arm himself unknown to Jove and the other gods; for Juno sent her forth; and standing near, she addressed to him winged words :

“Arouse thee, son of Peleus, most terrible of all men! Defend Patroclus, for whose body bloody battle is waged before the ships!”

In modern times a great interest has centred around the personality of the author or authors of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. From the earliest historic periods of Grecian life the authorship of both epics was unquestionably ascribed to a poet named Homer. If doubts ever arose in the mind of any sceptical or critical person as to the reality of the author, such doubts were quite submerged by the popular verdict. It was not generally claimed that Homer himself had written the works ascribed to him, it was long held, indeed, that he must have lived at a period prior to the introduction of writing into Greece,—but the belief that the person whom tradition loved to speak of as the blind bard had invented and recited his narratives, and that these, memorized by others, had been brought down through succeeding generations until they were finally given permanence in writing, was supposed to be founded on the most unequivocal of historical facts.

It was in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the supposed historic fact began to be called in question, Friedrich Wolf, a German critic, leading the van in 1795 with his *Prolegomena ad*

*Homerum*, and holding all scholarship in terror of his name for nearly a century. Richard Bentley had indeed remarked, about a century earlier, that the songs of Homer had been edited some five hundred years after the time of their composition, but now critical students began to find in the poems numerous anomalies that seemed to them inconsistent with the idea that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had been composed at one time and by one person. To cite but a single illustration, it was noted that the various parts of these poems were not all written in the same dialect, and it seemed highly improbable that any one person should have employed different dialects in a single composition. Such a suggestion as this naturally led to bitter controversies—controversies which have by no means altogether subsided after the lapse of a century.

Later scholarship, however, denied the "stratification of language" in the poems, and just as it was the textual criticism that at first destroyed the good standing of the Homeric legend, so the revivifying work of the pickaxe and shovel on the actual ground of the alleged exploits of the Homeric heroes has been bringing back the repute of the father of Grecian poetry.

Pisistratus, the celebrated Athenian statesman, who flourished in the middle of the sixth century B.C., had a great admiration for the Homeric songs as existing in his days. It is recorded that he summoned a number of learned men and commissioned them to collect and compare the texts of the rhapsodes to cut out what did not belong, to unite what was scattered, and fix the Homeric epos as a whole, a great record of national life, in a standard form. Thus Onomacritus the Athenian, Zopyras of Heraclea, and Orpheus of Crotone worked under the superintendence of Pisistratus. They formed a scientific commission which had an extensive sphere of labor; for not only were the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* revised, but also the later epos; that is to say, the poetic writings of the so-called "cyclic poets," which had come into existence as a sequel supplementary to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, together with the whole treasure of the Ionic epos, which was united under the name of Homer, besides Hesiod and the religious poems. Pisistratus took a personal interest in the work, and it is thought that we can even trace his character in the alterations, omissions, and interpolations that were made according to his taste or policy. Thus, for example, in the catalogue of ships the Salaminians were ranged among the Athenian levies, in order to supply a traditional authority for an ancient claim of Athens.

Instead of the "Twenty Homers" demanded by the critics who were contemporaries of Walter Savage Landor, and the contemplation of which aroused their eloquent denunciation in *Pericles and Aspasia*, quite recent authorities are satisfied with one or two. Professor J. B. Bury, M.A., one of the latest writers on the subject, says in his *History of Greece* that the nucleus of the *Iliad* was perhaps composed on the basis of still existing lays in about the eleventh century B.C., and that this poet may be regarded as the "First Homer." Two centuries later, Professor Bury thinks, a poet of supreme genius arose, who took in hand the poetic material and expanded it into what is now a greater part of the *Iliad*; the *Odyssey* being the work of a still later age.

But historic criticism is almost a pendulum in its motion. A few years ago, a Gladstone arguing for the reality of a Homer and of a Homeric epic was dismissed by the professors as an old-fashioned ignoramus. To-day almost the same terms are applied to those who cling to the fashion of yesterday and claim that the Trojan War and Homer himself are myths. In the new swing of the pendulum, however, the cautious will still avoid extremes.

As a general proposition, however, it may be concluded that Homer, "the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle," flourished about 600 B.C., but that the exact date and place of his birth can only be conjectured. More than a dozen cities claim him as their countryman, and a number of excellent authorities aver that he was by birth an Ionian of Asia Minor. Other authorities equally good dispute

this. Among many legends of Homer's origin and death there is one that he was the son of Meles and the nymph Crithæis, who, according to Herodotus, was a daughter of Melanopus, a colonist in Cyrene from Magnesia. She accompanied the colonists that founded Smyrna, giving birth to Homer on the shores of the Meles. A story of Aristotle describes Homer's death as taking place in the Island of Ios, where, in meeting some fishermen, an oracle concerning his death was fulfilled; for he is said to have composed an epitaph for himself and to have died three days later.

The belief that Homer was blind seems to have originated from one of the so-called Homeric hymns, in which the author refers to himself as a blind poet. But the wonderful accuracy of his descriptions of places in the *Iliad* would seem to contradict this legend.

Dr. William Smith, discussing Homer's birthplace, says: "After sifting the authorities . . . the claims of Smyrna and Chios remain the most plausible . . . Smyrna is supported by Pindar, Scylax, and Stesimorphus; Chios by Simonides, Acaulus, Hellanicus, Thucydides, the tradition of a family of Homerids at Chios, and the local worship of a hero, Homeros. The preference is now generally given to Smyrna."

The literature on the subject of the Homeric controversy is voluminous. The following list of the chief works, arranged chronologically, shows how the interest in the subject has been sustained throughout the last century, especially among German scholars.

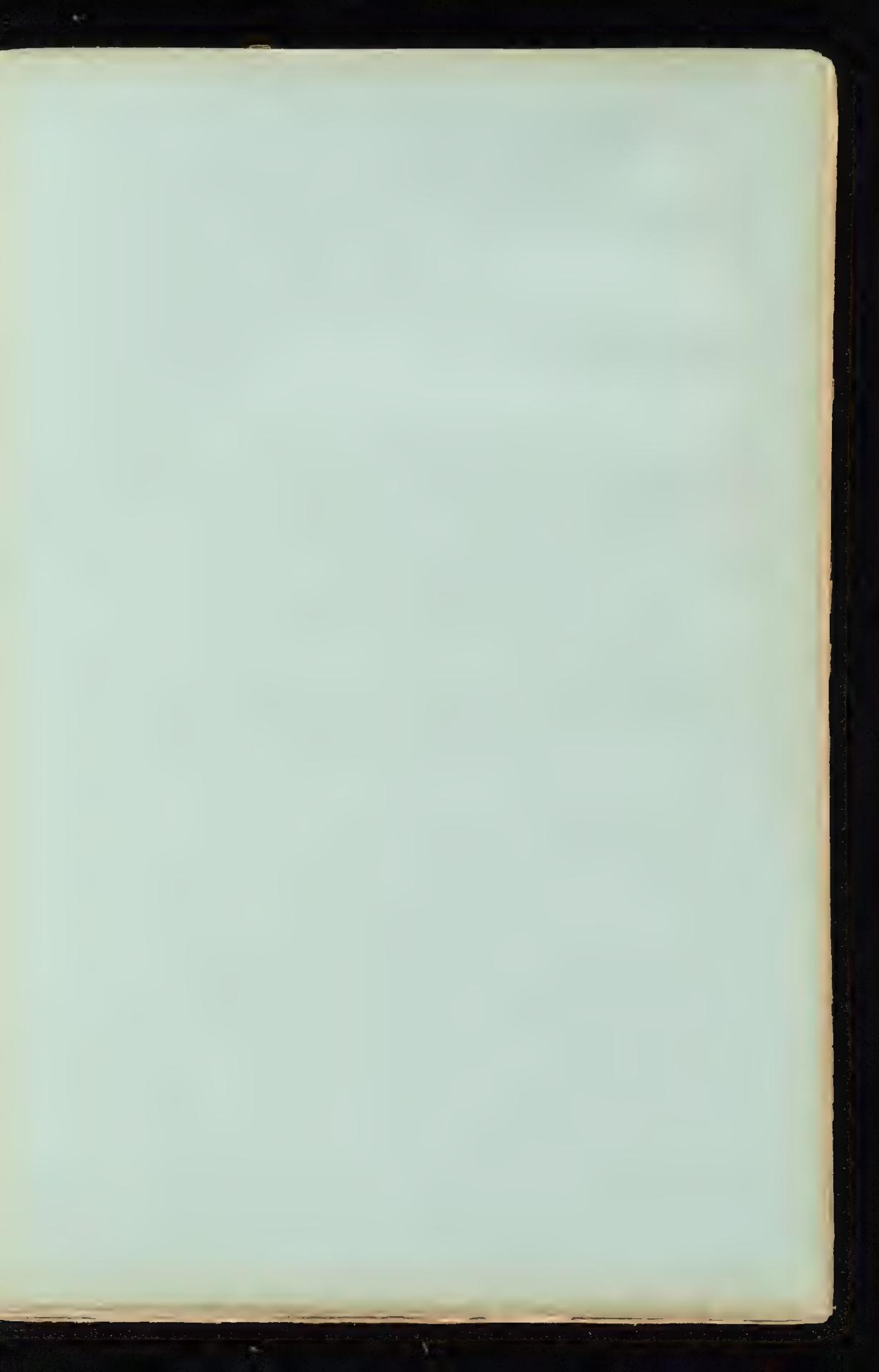
- Richard Bentley, "Remarks on a Late Discourse of Fresh thinking," London, 1713.—Francis d'Aubignac, "Conjectures académiques sur l'Iliade," Paris, 1715.—Robert Wood, "Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer," London, 1750.—Friedrich August Wolf, "Prolegomena ad Hominem," Halle, 1757.—G. Hermann, "Briefe an Heyne, eine Beilage zu den neuesten Untersuchungen über Homer," Berlin, 1797.—G. Hermann, "Die Homerschen Hymnen," Leipzig, 1806; "Ergessix in Homeri Iliaden," Leipzig, 1812; "Briefe über Homer und Homerschafft," Berlin, 1813.—J. N. Coleridge, "Homer," London, 1816.—A. Wolf, "Vorlesungen über die vier ersten Gesänge von Homers Ilias," Bern, 1820-31; 2 vols.—Nitsch, "De Historia Homeri: Manuale de Scriptorum Carrinum Actae, Metemata," Hanover, 1826-37.—Terpsichore, "Antiquias Homericas," Leyden, 1831.—G. Hermann, "De Interpolationibus Homeris," Leipzig, 1832.—Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, "Der Eposche Cyclus oder die homerischen Dichter," Bonn, 1835-49.—M. Müller, "Homericische Vorarbeiten," 2d ed., Leipzig, 1836.—C. E. Geppert, "Ueber den Ursprung der homericischen Gesänge," Leipzig, 1839.—G. Hermann, "De Iteratis et Alioquinis Poetis Graecis et Latinis, et de Homere et aliis Poetis Antiquis et Unitate," Paris, 1841.—J. W. Donaldson, in his notes to the 1841 Müller's "Homericische Vorarbeiten," London, 1846.—George Grote, "History of Greece," London, 1846; Vol. II, pp. 256-57.—K. Lachmann, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ilias," Berlin, 1847; 2d ed., 1874.—K. W. Krüger, "Homericische und Heroicidische Formelehre," Berlin, 1849.—Lauer, "Geschichte der homericischen Poesie," Berlin, 1851.—H. L. Ahrens, "Griechische Formelehre des homericischen und attischen Dialektes," Göttingen, 1852.—L. Friedlander, "Griechische Mythologie," 1854-55; 2 vols.; and "Die Griechische Mythologie und der homerische Altertumswissenschaft," Berlin, 1856.—Ludwig Preller, "Analektas Homericus," Bern, 1853.—G. Hermann, "Ueber den Ursprung der homericischen Gedichte," Vienna, 1856.—G. Hermann, "Les Hommes d'Homère," Paris, 1860.—J. La Roche, "Homericische Studien," Vienna, 1861.—Imm. Becker, "Homericische Blätter," Bonn, 1863, a 2d.—Grenier, "Idées nouvelles sur Homère," Paris, 1863.—J. La Roche, "Homericische Textkritik im Alterthum," Leipzig, 1866.—W. E. Gladstone, "Juventus Mundi: the Gods and Men of the Heroic Age," London, 1869.—A. Kirchoff, "Die Composition der Odyssee," Berlin, 1871.—J. La Roche, "Homericische Untersuchungen," Leipzig, 1869.—A. Kirchoff, "Die Composition der Odyssee," Berlin, 1872.—J. La Roche, "Die Composition der Odyssee," Madvig, Leipzig, 1869.—E. Kammer, "Zur homericischen Frage," Königsberg, 1870.—Wilhelm August Hartel, "Homericische Studien," Vienna, 1871, 714.—E. Buchholz, "Die homericischen Realien," Leipzig, 1871-1884.—E. Kammer, "Die Einheit der Odyssee," Leipzig, 1873.—Döntzer, H., "Homericische Abhandlungen," Leipzig, 1873; "Die homericischen Fragen," Leipzig, 1874.—Volkmann, "Geschichte und Kritik der Wolschens Prolegomena," Leipzig, 1874.—W. E. Gladstone, "Homeric Synchronism," London, 1876.—F. Robou, "Questions Homériques," Paris, 1876.—J. G. Gellé, "The Problem of the Homeric Poems," London, 1878.—W. E. Gladstone, "Trainer der Homeric Poems," 1878.—A. H. Sayce, "On the Language of the Homeric Poems," London, 1881.—Henry George Liddell, "Greek-English Lexicon," London, 1882.—D. B. Monro, "Grammar of the Homeric Dialect," Oxford, 1882.—W. von Wilmowitz-Möllendorff, "Griechische Untersuchungen," Berlin, 1884.—Max Hecht, "Orthographisch-dialektische Forschungen auf Grund attischer Inschriften," Königsberg, 1885.—Van Leeuwen and Da Costa, "Het Taalgebruik der Homer, Gedichten," Leyden, 1886.—R. C. Jebb, "Homer, a Short Introduction to the Iliad and Odyssey," Glasgow, 1887.—Seck, "Die Quellen der Odyssee," Berlin, 1887.—Andrew Lang, "Homer and the Epic," London, 1893.—W. W. Dugdale, "The English Age of Greek," Cambridge, 1901.—"Quarterly Review," Article in No. LXXXVII; Theodore Alois Buckley in introduction to his edition of "Popæ's Odyssey," in the Chandon Classics, London, n. d.

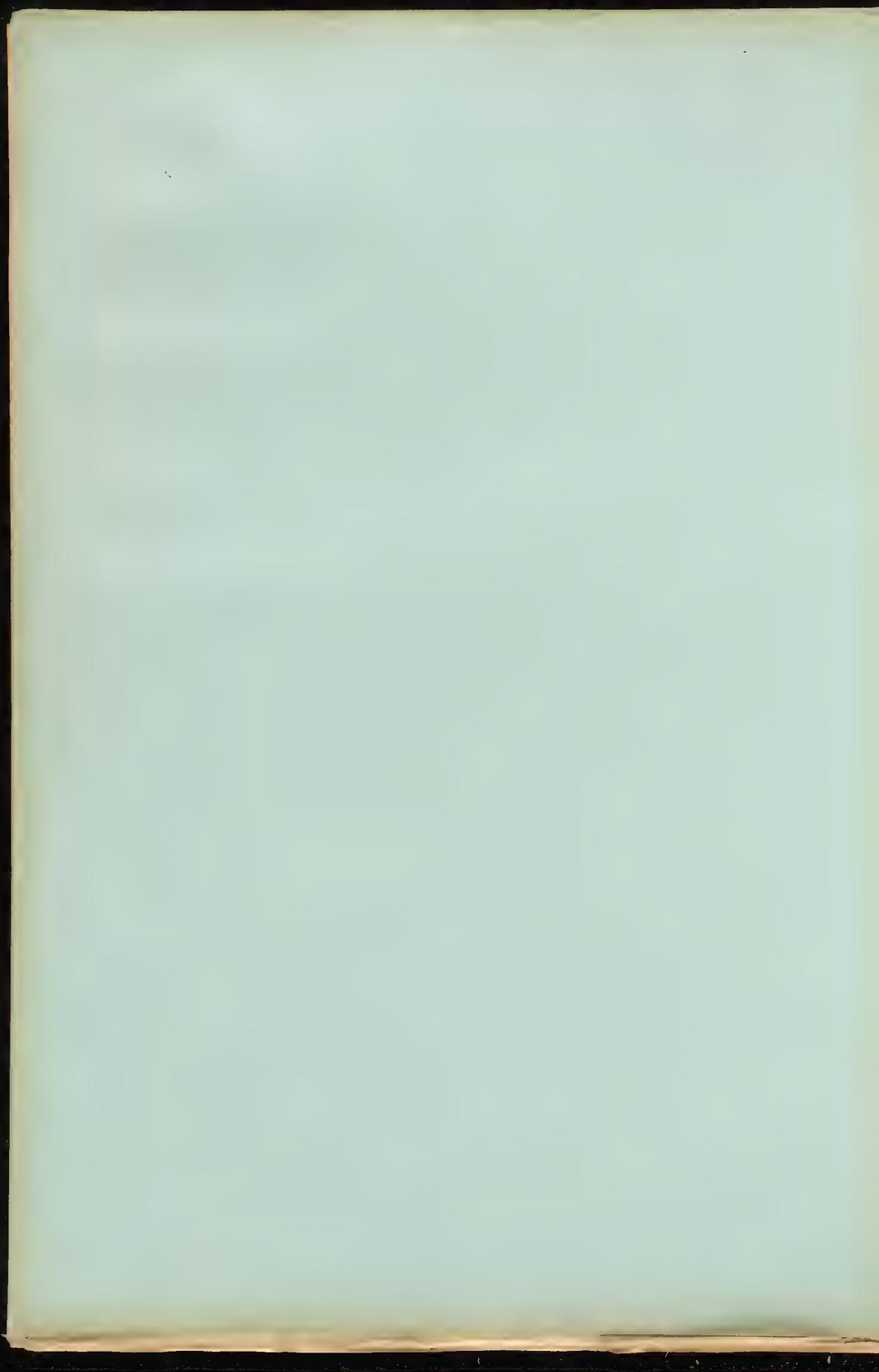
For other manuscripts of Homer, see plates 68, 73, 76, and 83a.



HOMER'S ILIAD  
1st CENTURY B.C.

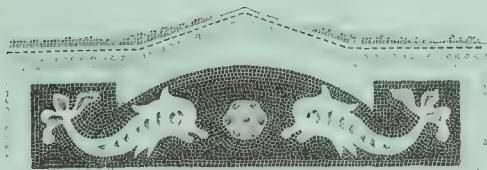






CHAPTER XIV

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## CHAPTER XIV

### GREEK & DOCUMENTS & OF & THE & ROMAN & PERIOD

#### Libraries and Book-making in Ancient Rome

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the entire loss of all the books produced in Rome in the early days, we are supplied with tolerably full information as to the making and use of books there during the later period of the Republic, and throughout the Empire.

The private library discovered at Herculaneum gives a perfectly clear idea of the way in which the books were kept in an ordinary house. This library contained 1,700 books. It was so small a room, however, that all its shelves could be reached from its centre. The books themselves, consisting of rolls, were contained in round cases called *caskets*, and we have the further evidence of various statues and pictures, as well as written descriptions, to prove that this was the usual method of caring for manuscripts.

We have seen that the books of this period were always in rolls, never folded after the modern method. This applies not merely to papyrus books, but to the parchment ones also. Generally the strip of papyrus or parchment was inserted at one end into a slit in a reed or cane about which the manuscript was rolled as written. Usually a corresponding cane was supplied at the other end after the book was completed, so that the book could be rolled either way, thus greatly facilitating the reading. Presumably the book as ordinarily kept ready for use would be rolled on the lower reed, so that any one unrolling it began at once with the first column, the columns being arranged transversely. A tag or label was usually attached to the manuscript, and these tags are represented in the paintings on the walls of Pompeii as projecting from the cases in which the books are stored. The length of a papyrus or parchment strip varied indefinitely, but it appears to have been usual to write an entire book on a single strip. The relatively short books into which most classical works were divided facilitated this method; or, perhaps, it became customary to divide works into small books for the convenience of the scribe, rather than because of any logicality in the method itself.

It appears that in the later Roman times it was quite the fashion to have a library in every ordinary house, and some of these libraries attained very respectable proportions. Thus it is said that the grammarian Epaphroditus had a library of 30,000 volumes, and that Sammaricus Serenus had one of 62,000 volumes. The fact that Augustus confiscated 2,000 copies of the pseudo-sibylline oracles testifies to the wide prevalence of the reading, or at least the book-buying habit. No doubt this distinction between the buying and the reading of books should be clearly drawn in the case of the Romans, as elsewhere. Still, it will not do to draw too sweeping conclusions from the sneers of Seneca and Cicero, which are so often quoted as implying that the Romans bought books as ornaments rather than for their contents. Doubtless the reproach was true then as now of a large number of purchasers; still, the making and the selling of books must always imply the existence of a taste for books, and such a fashion could never have come into vogue unless a very large number of people were actually book readers. In point of fact, the book business in Rome assumed proportions that seem almost incredible. Book stores were numerous in the more frequented parts of the city, and, far as one can learn, the trade flourished quite in the modern fashion. Within the shop the rolls were ranged on shelves for the inspection of the would-be purchaser, and outside on pillars were advertised the names of the authors represented.

Naturally enough, when private libraries were the fashion, there were numerous public libraries as well. According to Publius Victor, there were no fewer than twenty-nine of these public libraries in Rome. Asinius Pollio, the friend of Caesar, and the famous patron of literature of his time, who died in the year 6 B.C., was credited with being the founder of the first public library, although there is a tradition that Orielus Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, brought back with him to Rome a large collection of books in 168 B.C. Be that as it may, there probably was no very great taste for reading in Rome at that early period, and it was not until the time of Augustus that public libraries began to assume real importance.

Augustus himself, carrying out the intention of Julius Caesar, founded two public libraries, one called the Octavian and the other the Palatine. From that time the founding of public libraries became a fashion with the Emperors Tiberius,

Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, successively adding to the number, the most famous collection of all being the Ulpian Library of Trajan. No available data have come down to us as to the exact size of these libraries, but the respectable proportions of some of the private collections make it a safe inference that some, at least, of these public libraries must have contained hundreds of thousands of books, since we can hardly suppose that a private library would be allowed to outrival the imperial collections.

When one reflects on this prevalence of books, the very natural query arises as to how they were produced, and the answer throws a vivid light on the social conditions in Rome. The enormous output of books, almost rivaling the productions of the modern press, was possible solely because of the great number of slaves in Rome. Book-making was a profession, but it was a profession apparently followed almost exclusively by slaves, who were known as *librarii*. These educated slaves were usually Greeks, and a large publishing house, of which there were several in Rome, would keep a great number of them for purposes both of making the materials for books and of transcribing the books themselves.

It is known that shorthand was practised extensively in Rome, and it has been supposed that a very large number of the current books were written in this abbreviated hand. This supposition, however, appears more than doubtful, for it is hardly to be supposed that the general public took the trouble to learn the Tironian system, by which name the shorthand script was known; Tiro, the secretary of Cicero, being commonly, though no doubt incorrectly, credited with its invention. As to the latter point, there are various references in the Greek classical authors to the practice of shorthand in ancient times. It is said even that Xenophon took down the lectures of Socrates in this way, and whether or not that statement is true, the existence of the rumor is in itself evidence of the prevalence of the custom from an early day. Very probably Tiro developed a modified and greatly improved system of shorthand writing, and doubtless this became popular, since lexicons were written interpreting the Tironian script in terms of ordinary Latin. But, as has been said, all this does not make it probable that the average reader understood the script, and it seems much more likely that the popular authors were represented in the ordinary script, subject, however, to numerous abbreviations. The writers who were most in vogue in imperial Rome are said to have been Ovid, Propertius, and Martial among the satirists; Homer, Virgil, and Horace among the poets; and Cicero, Livy, and Pliny among prose writers. It is alleged that the works of most of these were in every private collection. Of all this great store of literary treasures not a single line has been preserved in the original manuscript, save only a few rolls from the library at Herculaneum, and most of these are charred and damaged beyond recognition.

Thanks to the use of slave labor, it would appear that the Roman publisher was able, not merely to put out large editions of books, but to sell these at a very reasonable price. According to a statement of Martial himself, a very good copy of the first book of his epigrams could be purchased for five denarii. This presumably must refer to the cheapest edition, probably a papyrus roll, though no definite data as to the relative cost of papyrus and parchment are available. Naturally, there were more expensive editions put out for those who could afford them. It was customary, for example, to tint the back of the parchment roll with purple; at a later day the inscribed part itself was sometimes tinted with the same color, and this custom also may have prevailed as early as the Roman time. Certain books were illustrated with pictures, as appears from a remark of Pliny; but this practice was undoubtedly very exceptional. It may not have been unusual, however, to ornament or emphasize portions of the manuscript by using red ink; for the ink wells illustrated in the paintings of Pompeii are often shown to be double, and the presumable object of this was to facilitate the use of ink of two colors.

The pen employed by the Roman scribe was made of a reed and known as a *calamus*. It was sharpened and split, not unlike a modern quill pen. The question has been raised many times as to whether the Romans did not employ the quill pen itself. Certain pictures seem to suggest that the quill pen was used not merely by the Romans, but by the Egyptians as well. There seems little ground for this supposition, however, and the first specific reference to a quill pen was in the writings of Isidore, who died in 636 A.D. This proves that the use of quills had begun not later than the seventh century, but it is extremely doubtful whether the Romans employed them, though the quill seems so obvious a substitute for the reed that its non-employment causes wonder. But the history of all simple inven-

tions shows how fallacious would be any argument drawn from this obvious inference. Incidentally it may be noted that the reed pen held its own against the quill for some centuries after the invention of the latter. Even in the late Middle Ages the reed was still employed for particular kinds of writing in preference to the quill, and no doubt a certain number of people for generations continued to prefer the reed, just as there are people now who prefer a quill pen to the steel pens that were perfected in 1830. Every desk in the reading room at the British Museum to-day is supplied with a quill as well as a steel pen; and a fair proportion of the readers there seem to prefer the former.

It would not do to leave the subject of Roman books without at least incidental mention of the tablets which were in universal use (Plate 61). These were probably not employed in writing books for the market, but it is quite probable that many authors used them in making the first drafts of their books. The so-called wax tablet was really made of wood, quite in the form of a modern child's slate, the wax to receive the writing being put upon the portion that corresponds to the slate proper. These tablets were usually bound together in twos or threes, and only the inner surfaces were employed to receive the writing, the outer surface being reserved for a title in the case of business documents, or for the address when the tablet was used as a letter. When used as business records or in correspondence, the tablets were bound together with a cord, upon which a seal was placed. It was quite the rule for a Roman citizen to carry a tablet about with him for the purpose of making notes. The implement used in writing was a pointed metal needle known as the *stylus*. It was almost dagger-like in proportions, and was sometimes used as a weapon. It was said that Caesar once transfixed the arm of Cassius with his stylus in a fit of anger in the senate chamber itself. The other end of the stylus was curved or flattened, and was used to erase the writing on the tablet for corrections or to prepare the surface for a new inscription.

The fac-similes of this chapter cover a long period of time and a wide variety of subjects.

When the letter shown in Plate 66 was written, Rome was just fairly launched on its imperial policy, and the city of Rome was the uncontested centre of civilization.

When the letters of Plate 75 were written, the course of imperial Rome in the West was nearly run, and the seat of empire had already shifted back to the East.

The subjects treated in the various documents here shown are full of suggestion. Here are letters, farming accounts, epitaphs, deeds, taxation returns, a note of payment, and the record of the sale of a slave, in addition to books proper.

A flood of light is thrown on the history of the period by these business documents. They tell of the every-day life of the people in Egypt under the domination of Rome, and they have an added importance because no similar documents have been preserved from the seat of the empire itself.

In addition to the papyrus documents, an illustration is given in Plate 70 of another form of material for receiving writing; namely, the so-called ostrakon. The ostrakon was not necessarily an oyster-shell, but was usually a tablet of earthenware. Its use in Greece is familiar through the well-known fact of its employment as a ballot in voting for the ostracism of any obnoxious citizen. Here, in Egypt, it appears from the specimens in hand that ostraka were used to take the place of papyrus in certain business documents such as tax receipts, the durability of the material no doubt lending additional value for such purposes.

Notwithstanding the long period of time covered in the present chapter, it will be observed that the writing is singularly uniform in all of the documents here exhibited. There is, of course, the usual distinction to be drawn between the book-hand and the business-hand, and, equally of course, there are individual differences between the various scripts. Nor is it to be denied that certain changes have been wrought in the general character of the writing in the course of the three and a half centuries involved. But it is equally evident that these changes are few and relatively insignificant. Something of the conservatism of the old Egypt seems to have attached to writing even as practised by foreigners in that land.

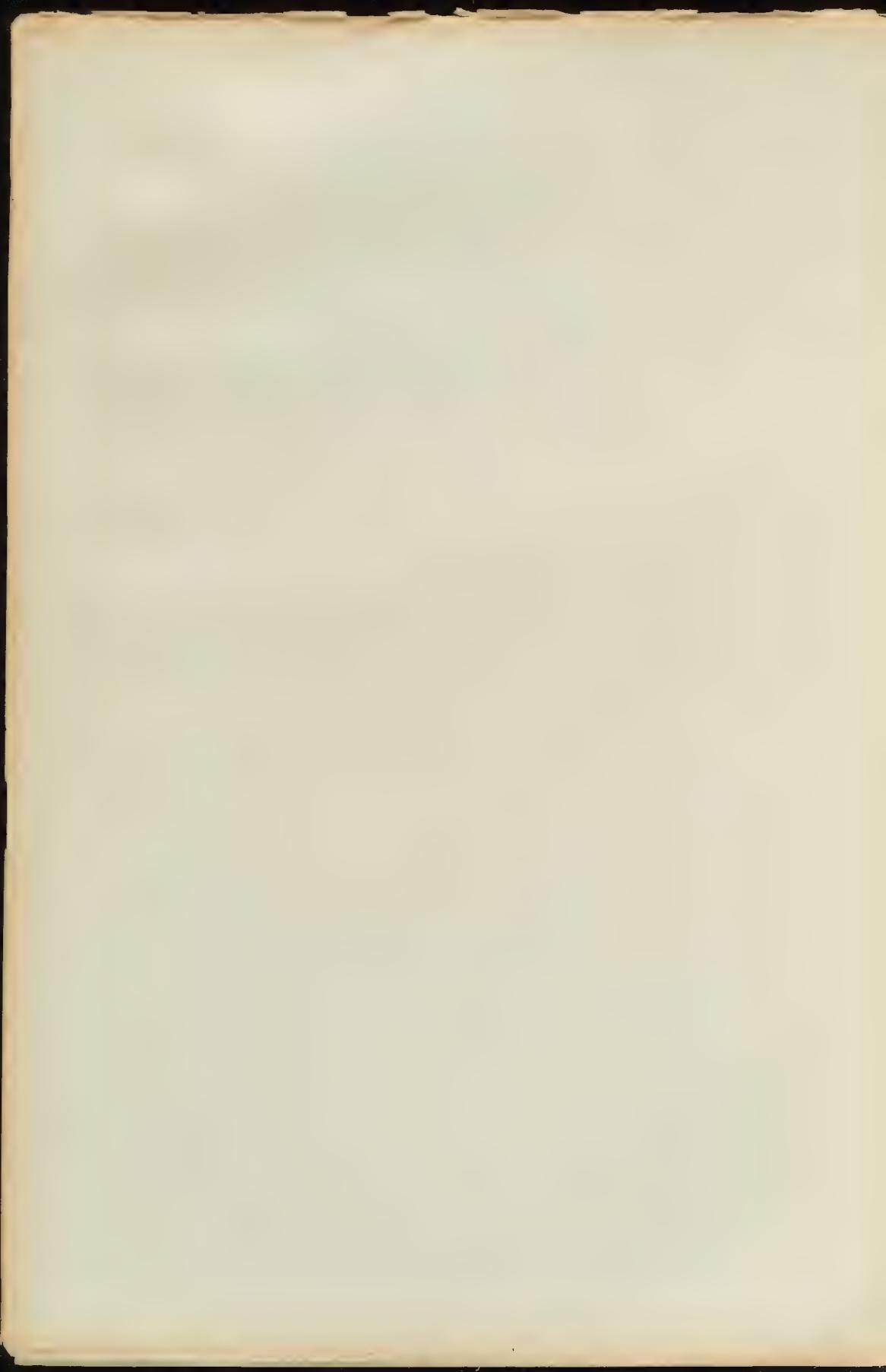
A comparison of Plates 66 and 75 will best illustrate this conservatism. To casual inspection the letters here shown do not differ more from one another than individual letters might if written in precisely the same period. In so far as there is a difference, it is in the direction that always marks the evolution of a script; namely, a greater facility and speed in writing, and a corresponding tendency to slur the lines and run them together. The book-hand, however, as illustrated in Plates 68, 702 and 73, is a singularly legible script.

PLATE 66. LETTER, A.D. 15

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CCLXXVIIb

**T**HIS is a copy of a letter in Greek from [Septius (?) Rufus] to Lcretius, δικαιοδόχης forward-ing the judgment delivered by him in the case of Satabous, son of Erieus, who had been accused of having appropriated certain unoccupied lands; dated 6th of the month of Epeiph, in the 1st year of Tibe-rius (goth June, A.D. 15). The document is imperfect, and the name of the writer, which is here omitted, is supplied from another copy in the British Museum (Greek Papyrus CCLXXVIa). The fragment measures 8 inches by 7 inches, and is written in large roughly formed uncials of ordinary type. The first two lines are read as:

αντιγραφων επιστολης λοκρυτη εκεινην [οι]  
ον επωνυμη συστηματος επιθεματος οντα



LETTER

A. D 15

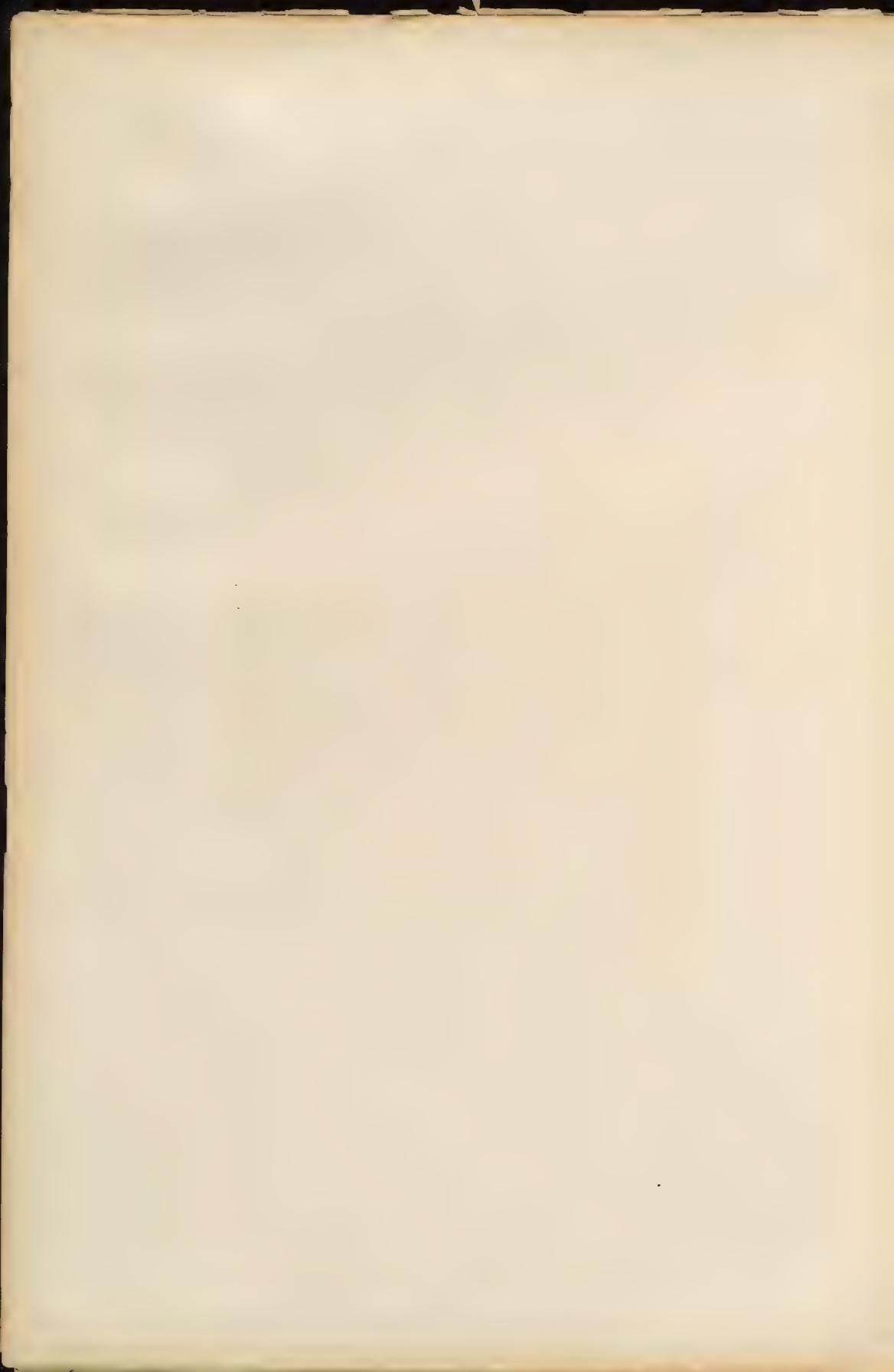


PLATE 67. FARMING ACCOUNT FROM  
HERMOPOLIS, A.D. 78-79

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CXXXI

**T**HIS plate shows two columns from the account in Greek of Didymus, son of Aspasius, as Bailiff of Epimachus, son of Polydeuces, who owned an estate in the nome (district) of Hermopolis, in Egypt. It was drawn up in the eleventh year of the reign of Vespasian—A.D. 78-79.

The document appears to have consisted originally of three rolls of papyrus, the first of which, however, is alone apparently perfect. The total length was probably 24 feet, of which 15 feet 8 inches remain. The width of the papyrus is 11 inches. The entries are arranged in columns under the several months, the receipts, realized by the sale of produce, or by advances by the owner, being set down in the first column, and the statement of expenditure usually occupying seven or eight columns.

The calculations are in drachmas and obols, in two classes of currency, silver and copper. At this period, in consequence of the enormous depreciation of silver coinage, there was only a slight difference in the values of the two currencies; the ratio appears in this document as 24 : 28 or 24 : 29. The items of receipt are given in silver; those of expenditure, sometimes in silver, sometimes in copper. The sum of each column is placed at the foot; and at the end of each month the totals of each currency are set down and the sums of copper are then reduced to silver in order to balance the two sides of the account.—*Palaeographical Society.*

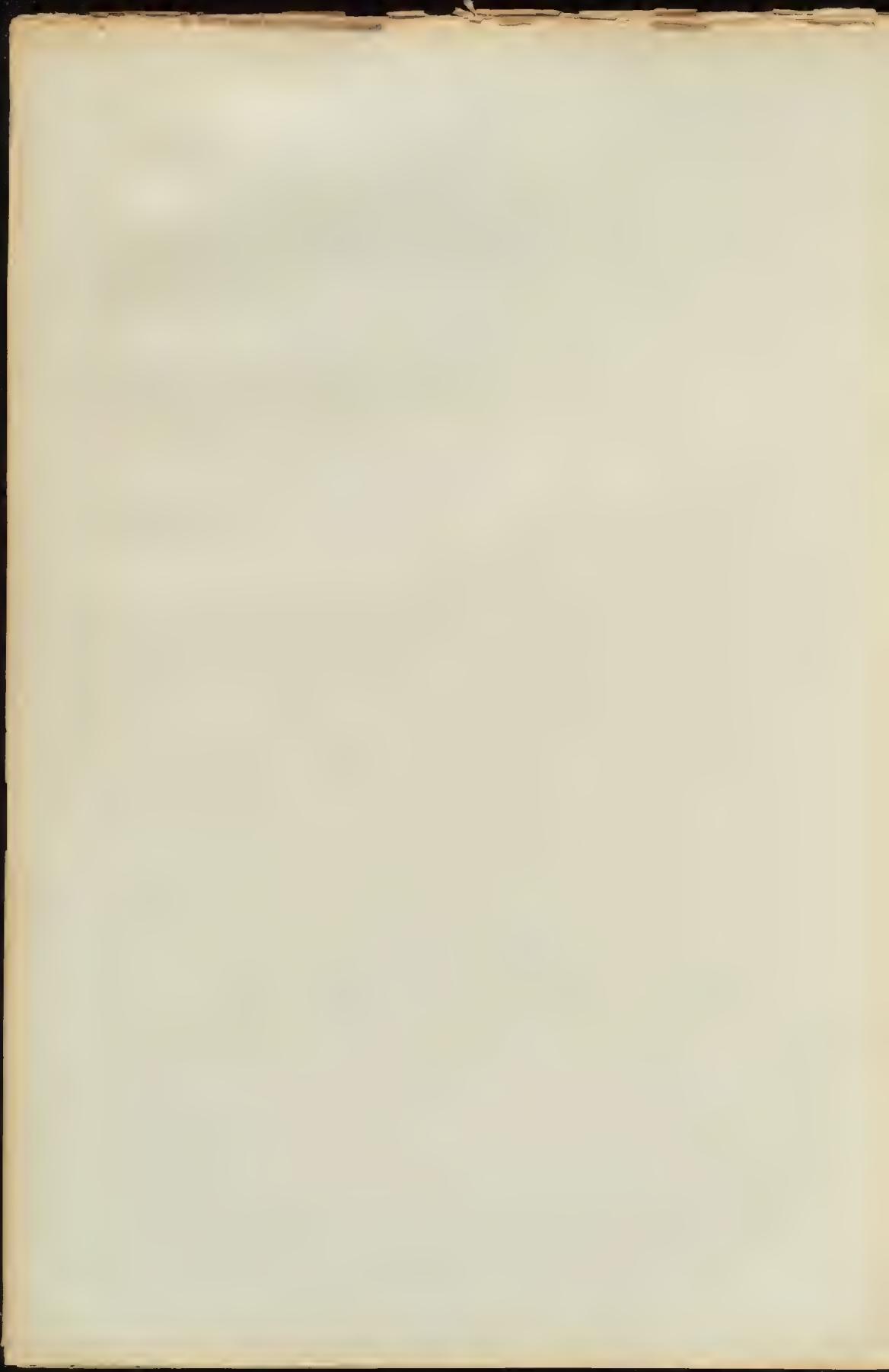
Written in more or less cursive letters of mixed uncials and minuscules, with a tendency to cursive forms at ends of an entry. Abbreviations are numerous and their expansion is uncertain. Special symbols are used for drachmas and obols (*cf.* col. 2, lines 3 and 17), an f-shaped symbol = 4 obols, as shown twice not very distinctly in col. 1, fourth and seventh lines from foot, after the figure column.

The beginning of the first column reads in Greek as follows:

ε τοις ενδικταις αιγαλεωπόρος κληρού  
αναστάσιαν σεβαστού μηρος τεχνών

On the back of the papyrus is written Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. How it came to be so written is a matter of conjecture, but presumably the owner of the estate, or some one into whose hands these accounts passed, was a scholar and a man of letters. It would seem that he wanted a copy of one of the best known books which then existed, on the history of Athens. As papyrus was somewhat scarce, he took a sheet which already had writing on one side of it, and used the back of it to receive the work which he now wished to copy—a common practice in those days. Part of it he seems to have copied himself, part he left to be written by his servants, some other persons; but in one way or another he transferred this historical treatise to the back of the accounts of the Bailiff.

A veil then drops over our knowledge of the fortunes of these documents. They were finally unearthed, possibly by an Arab, and found their way into the British Museum, where they now are. They constitute one of the greatest literary finds of the nineteenth century; and the experts are at one as to their genuineness.



Ηερμόπολις οικονομία της γης από την πόλη της Αιγύπτου  
την οποία συνέβασται την ίδια την πόλη

Επικαλλάστησε την πόλη της Αιγύπτου  
την οποία συνέβασται την ίδια την πόλη

Το οικονομικό σύστημα της πόλης της Αιγύπτου  
την οποία συνέβασται την ίδια την πόλη

Το οικονομικό σύστημα της πόλης της Αιγύπτου

την οποία συνέβασται την ίδια την πόλη

Αιγύπτια

FARMING ACCOUNT FROM HERMOPOLIS

(A. D. 78 or 79.

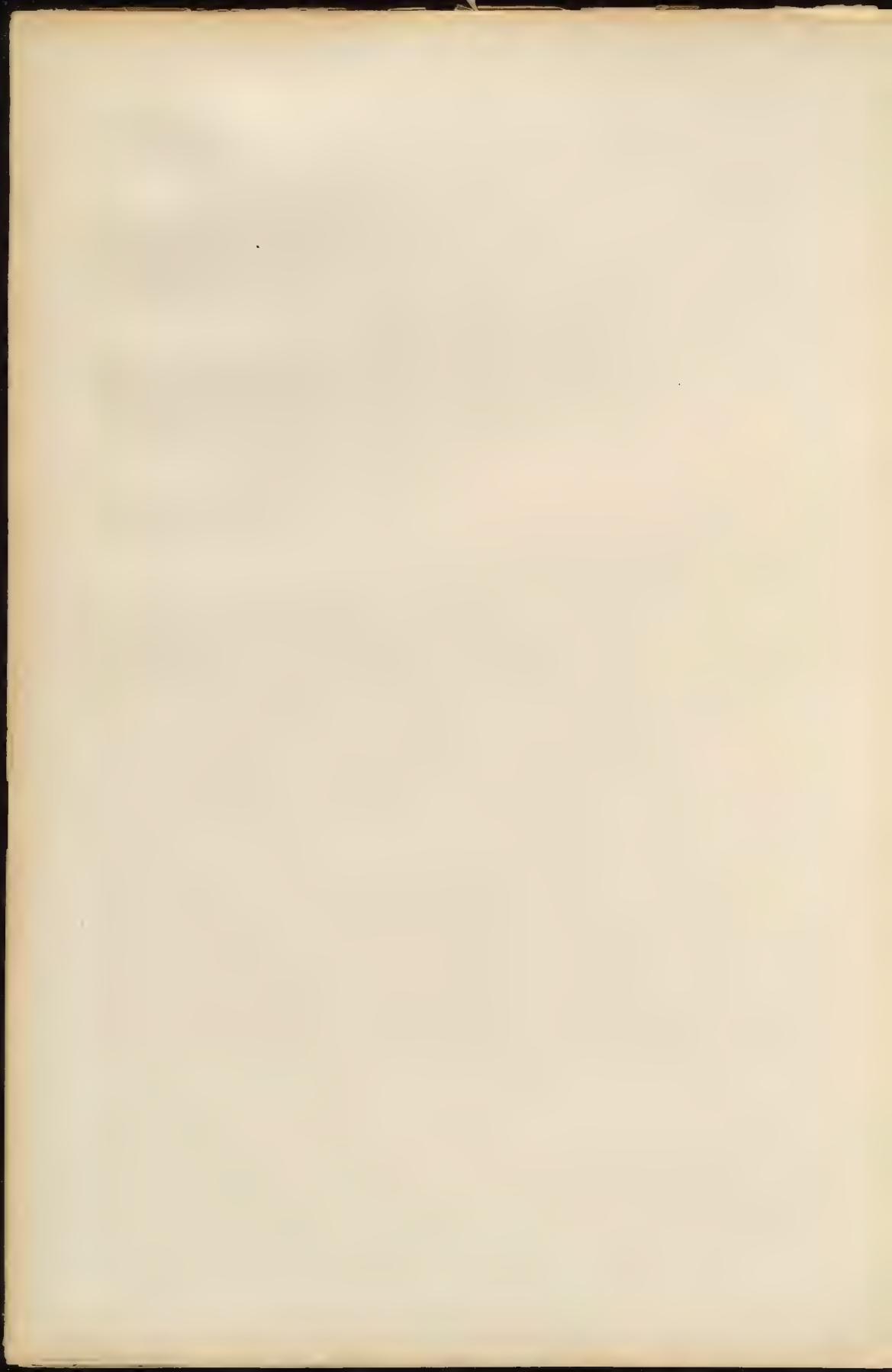


PLATE 68. HOMER'S ODYSSEY, FIRST  
CENTURY A.D.

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CCLXXI

**F**RAGMENTS of Homer's *Odyssey*, Book III, lines 457-492, on papyrus, in columns of thirty-five or thirty-six lines; the roll, when perfect, having measured about thirteen inches in height. Scholia, not very numerous but hitherto unknown, are written in the margins. The date of the text is probably of the early part of the first century; and the scholia may have been added in the latter part of that century, or early in the next. Printed by F. G. Kenyon in *The Journal of Philology*, vol. xxii, p. 238, and criticised by A. Ludwig, *Homerica* (Acad. Alb. Regimont.), 1894.

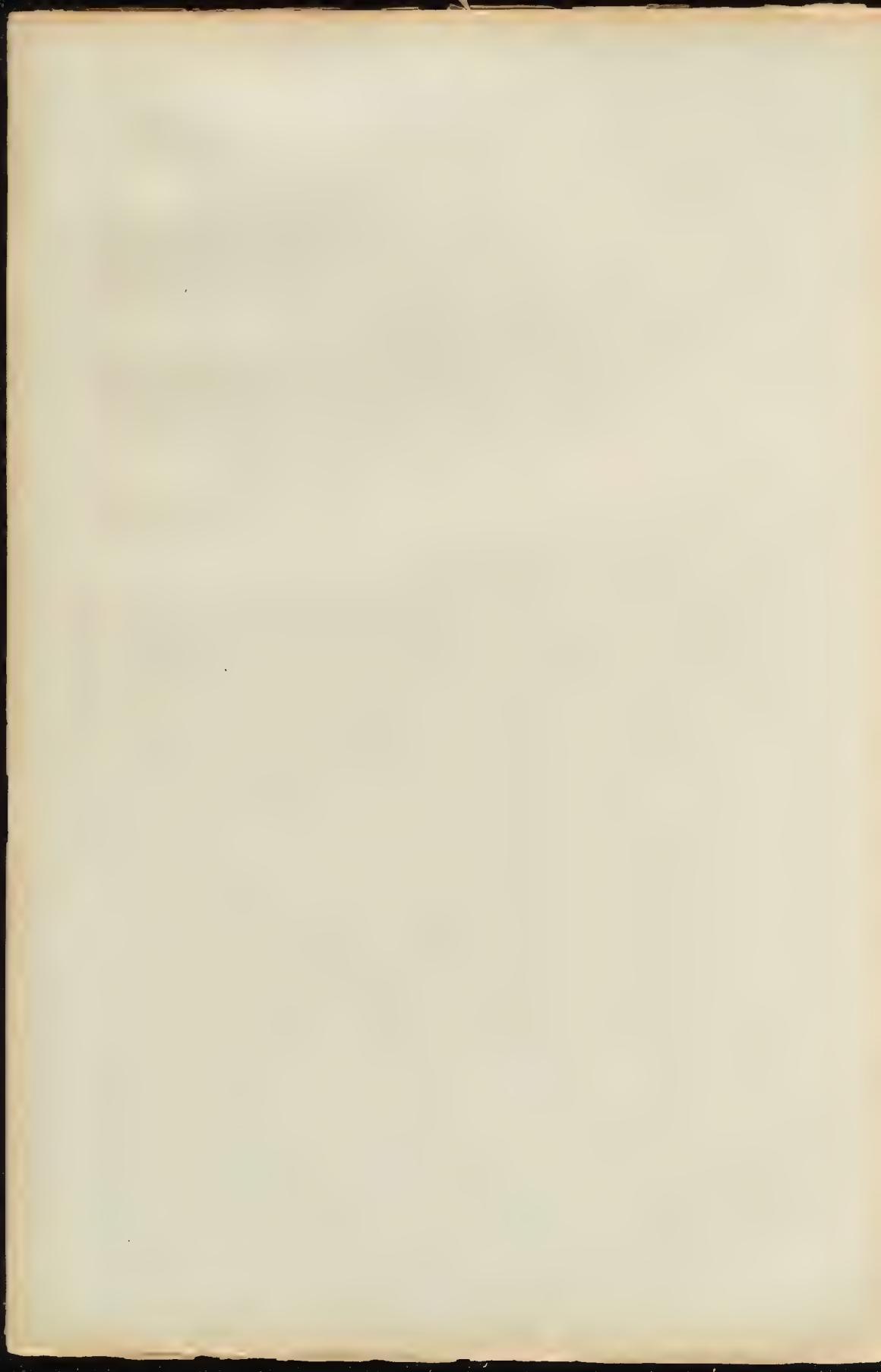
Written in carefully formed uncials of the literary type, with a few accents and breathings, apparently by the first hand, and with critical marks placed against certain lines. The scholia are in a small cursive hand, the writer employing the T-shaped eta, which appears to have been used from the middle of the first to the middle of the second century.

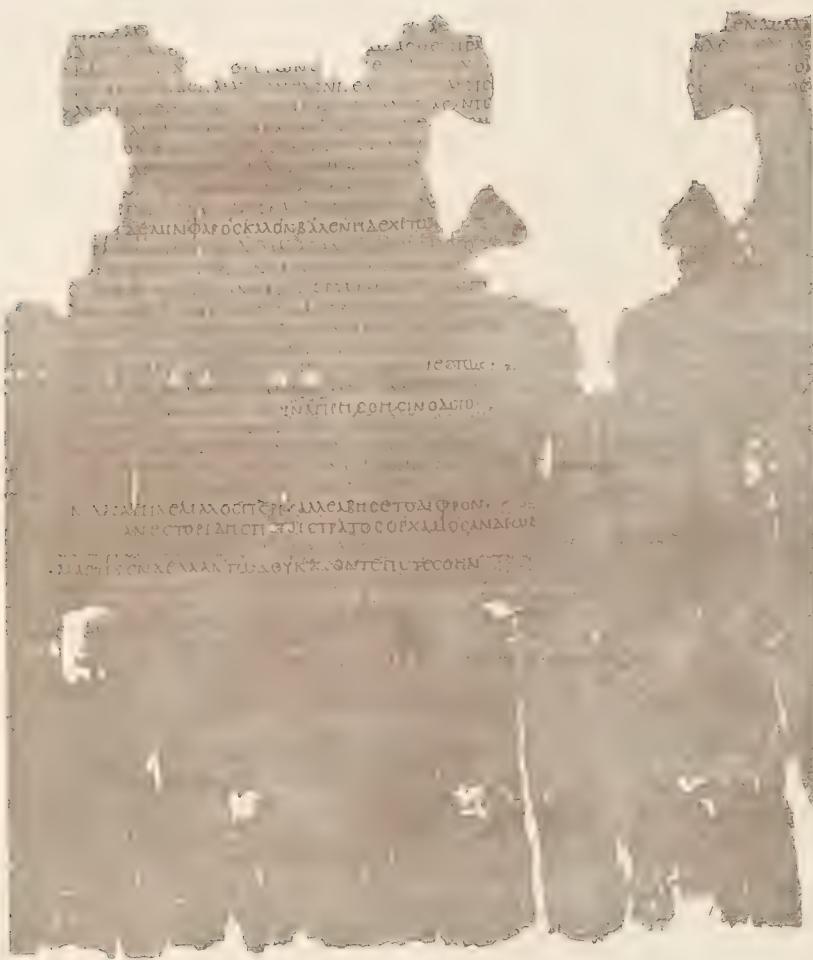
The portion of Book III of the *Odyssey* shown on the plate, beginning with the half-visible word ΗΑΝΤΑ, describes the rites associated with Nestor's sacrifice to Minerva, and the subsequent feast. Pope has rendered the episode in the following strain :

The rage of thirst and hunger now suppress'd,  
The monarch turns him to his royal guest ;  
And for the promised journey bids prepare  
The smooth-hair'd horses, and the rapid car.  
Observant of his word, the word scarce spake,  
The sons obey, and join them to the yoke.  
Then bread and wine a ready handmaid brings,  
And presents, such as suit the state of kings.  
The glittering seat Telemachus ascends ;  
His faithful guide Pisistratus attends ;  
With hasty hand the ruling reins he drew :  
He lash'd the coursers, and the coursers flew.  
Beneath the bounding yoke alike they held  
Their equal pace, and smoked along the field.  
The towers of Pylos sink, its views decay,  
Fields after fields fly back, till close of day ;  
Then sunk the sun, and darken'd all the way.

To Phere now Diocleus' stately seat  
(Of Alpheus' race), the weary youths retreat.  
His house affords the hospitable rite,  
And pleased they sleep (the blessing of the night).  
But when Aurora, daughter of the dawn,  
With rosy lustre purpl'd o'er the lawn,  
Again they mount, their journey to renew,  
And from the sounding portico they flew.  
Along the waving fields their way they hold,  
The fields receding as their chariot roll'd :  
Then slowly sunk the ruddy globe of light,  
And o'er the shaded landscape rush'd the night.

For other manuscripts of Homer see Plates 65b, 73, 76, and 83a





HOMER'S ODYSSEY

(1st CENTURY)

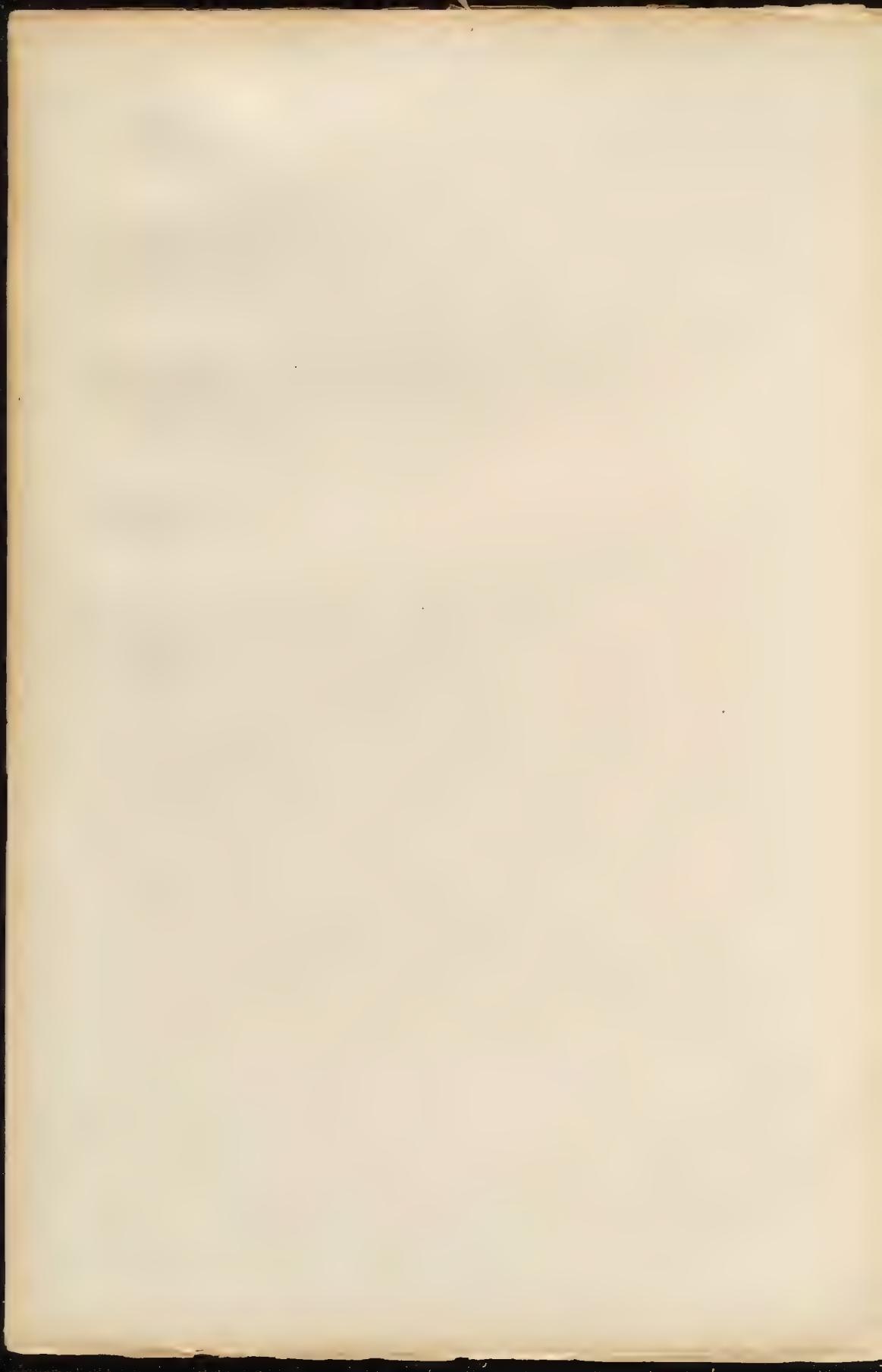


PLATE 69. PETITION FROM ARSINOE,  
A.D. 41-54\*

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CLXXVII

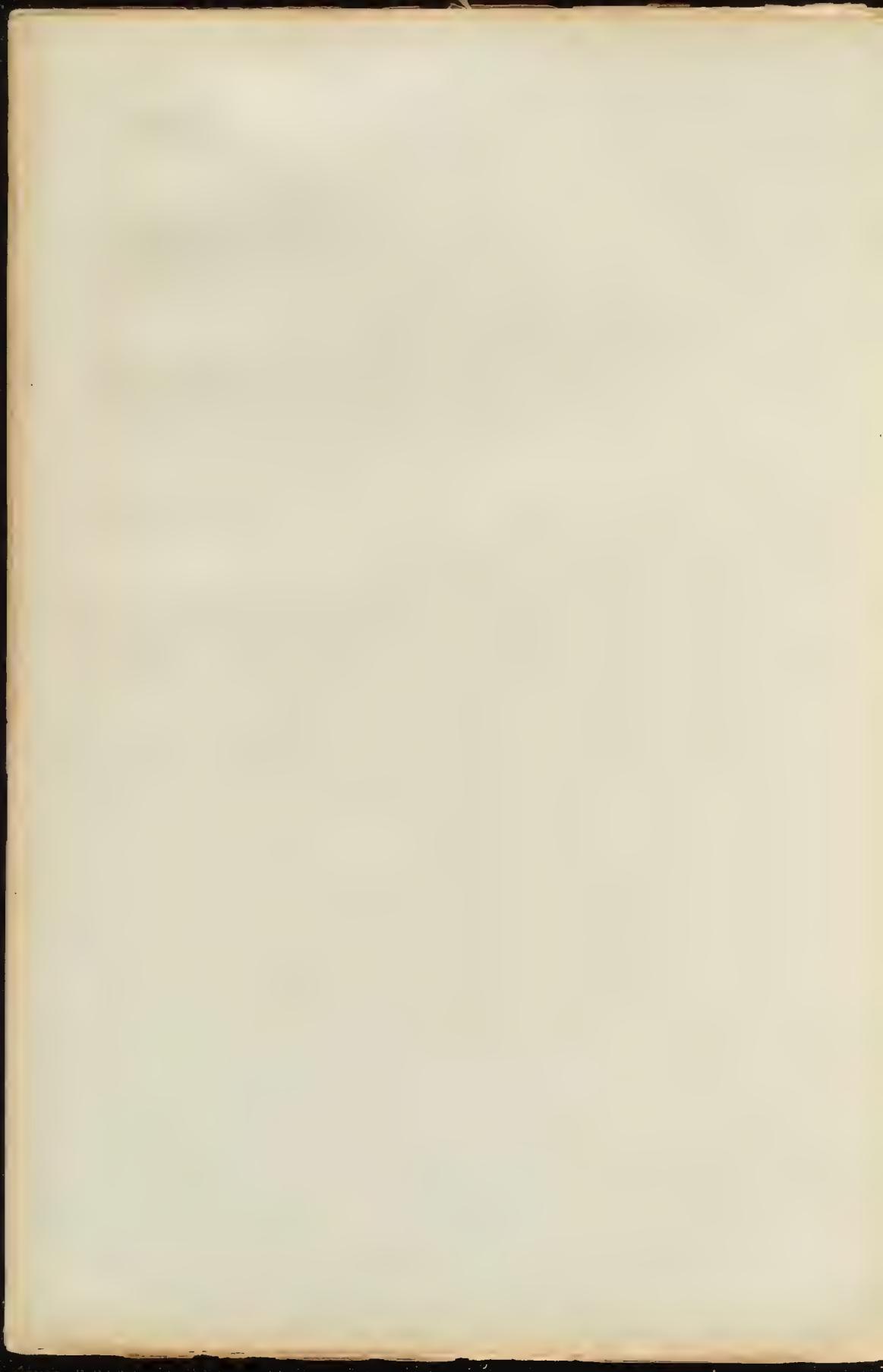
**T**HIS document is a petition in Greek from Ver-senouphis, farmer of the district of Herakleides in the name of Arsinoe in Egypt, to Gaius Vitrasius Pollio, for restitution of property unjustly seized by his elder married sister, who had been portioned by her father in the 35th year (of Augustus) and therefore had no right in the property. The date of her father's death is given as the 4th year of the Emperor Caligula (A.D. 39-40); and the document was probably written and presented in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54), under whom C. Vitrasius Pollio was procurator of Egypt. The papyrus measures 11 inches by 5½ inches.

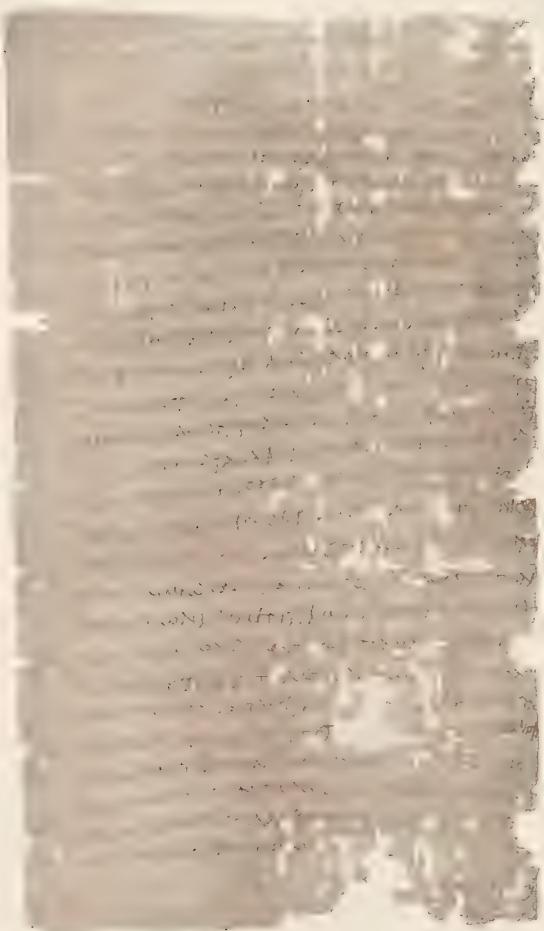
The writing is in large unicals, not very regular, with lapses into cursive, and letters of varied forms. This variety of forms was a marked characteristic of the period.

The Greek begins:

γένοισιν οὐτε πατρίδοις πενθάνονται  
πηρούσιν αὐτοφενενόφεος (τὸν μαρρώματον π . . .

\* Erroneously printed as A.D. 41-45 on the plate.





This image shows a single, severely damaged page from an ancient manuscript. The paper is a light cream or beige color, heavily mottled with dark brown and black stains, likely from water damage. The text, which appears to be in a classical script, is completely illegible due to the damage. The page is oriented vertically and has a slightly irregular shape.

PETITION FROM ARSINOE

(A. D. 41-45)

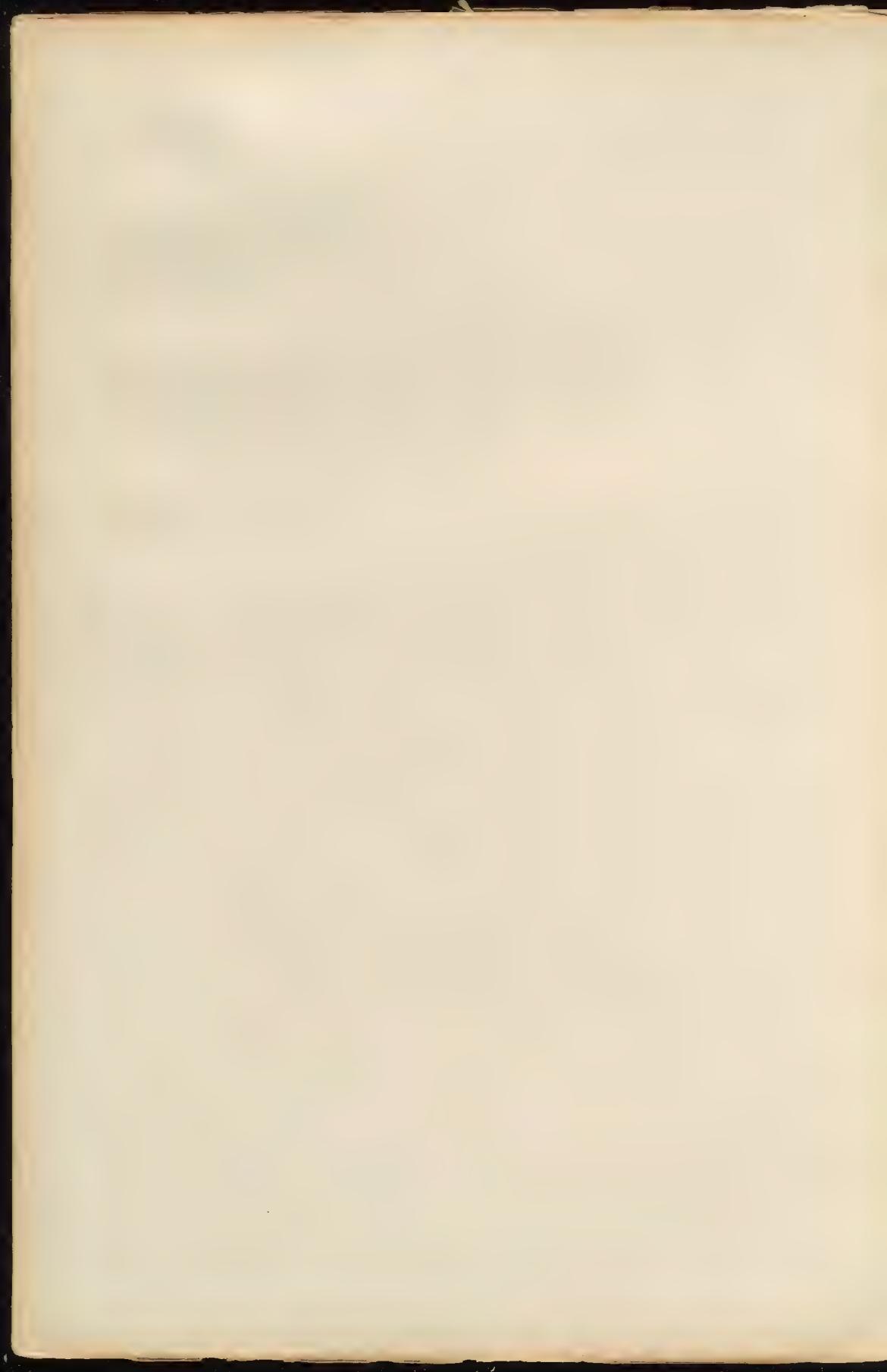


PLATE 69a. DEEDS FROM ARSINOE,  
A.D. 20 AND A.D. 69-79

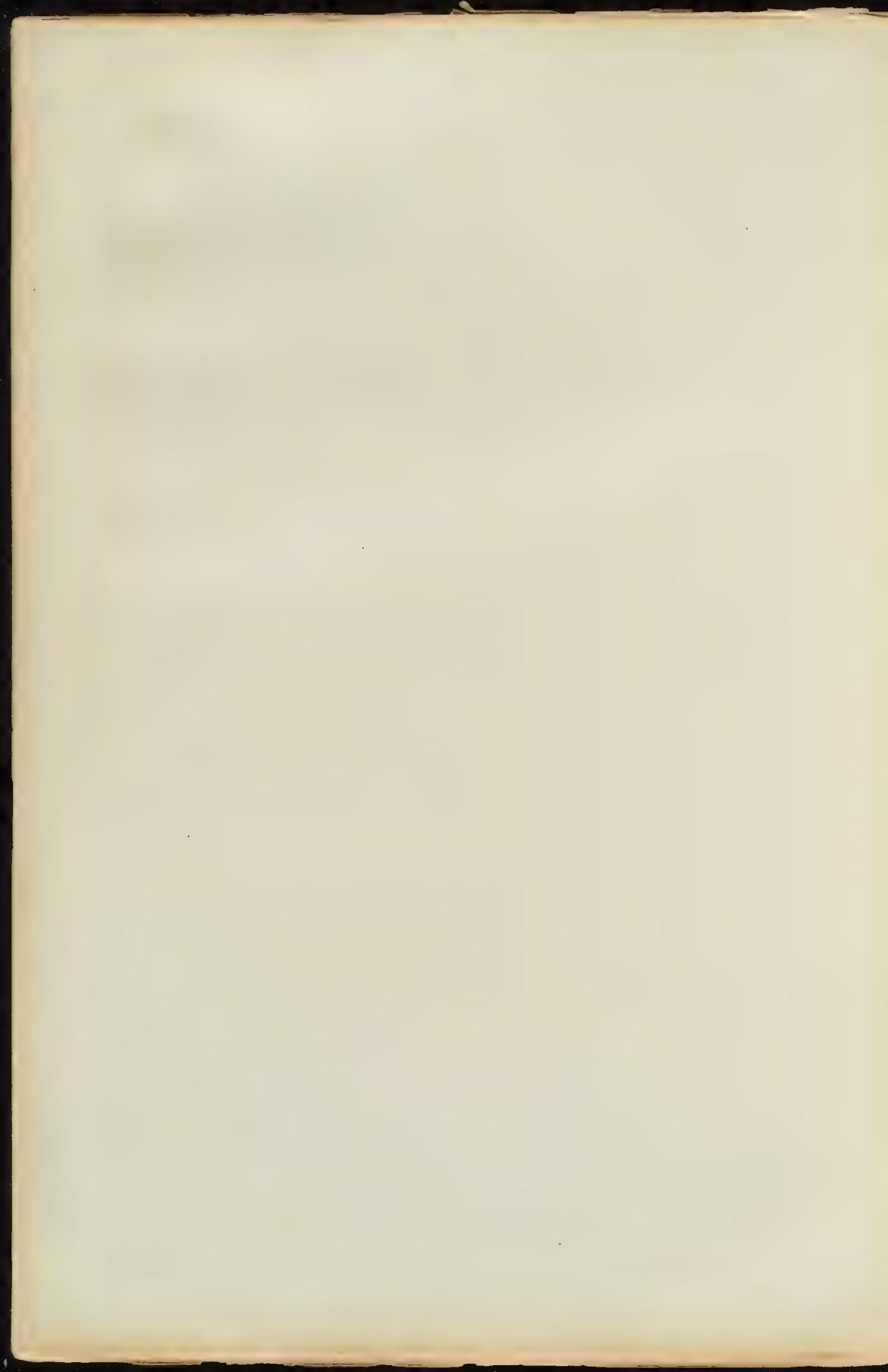
British Museum, Greek Papyrus, Nos. CXXXIX and CXL.

**T**HE first document shown in the plate is a copy of a receipt in Greek for produce of land, apparently as rent in kind, paid by Petautis, Pethis, and Marres, farmers to Charemon, son of Socrates; dated 30th of the month of Caesarius (Sept., Oct.), in the eighth year of Tiberius (A.D. 20). The papyrus measures 6½ inches by 5 inches, and is in roughly written uncials, of generally normal shapes, but cursive tendency for Α, ε, Η, Κ, and Υ.

The following is a transliteration :

αντιγράφω απολύτης  
χωρίου παρατίντος στενάτη και  
πεθή[τ] και μαρρών γεωργών χωρές α  
πέχω περιμένω τα εκδόσια ως γεωρ  
γικά μην καλύπτων γεωργίας ή[έργων]  
γηών εργάτων τα στενάτα  
του δέρπους] κατα μηδὲν μην έλεσσον  
μεν περι ων οιδέι μην μαρρώ  
πετασίους στενά εκδόσια [έργων] η τιβέρων  
κλαδίους καπνώρος στενάτους  
γερμανικούς στενάτους μηνος  
κακοπαγησαν λ

The second document on the plate is a fragment of a deed in Greek conveying land in the district of Herakleides in the name of Arsinoe in Egypt; dated in the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79). The papyrus measures 11 inches by 5 inches, and the writing is in delicate, neat letters, mixed uncials and minuscules; some are very varied, especially Α, but ε is generally cursive.





DEEDS FROM ARSINOE

(A. D. 20 and 69 70)

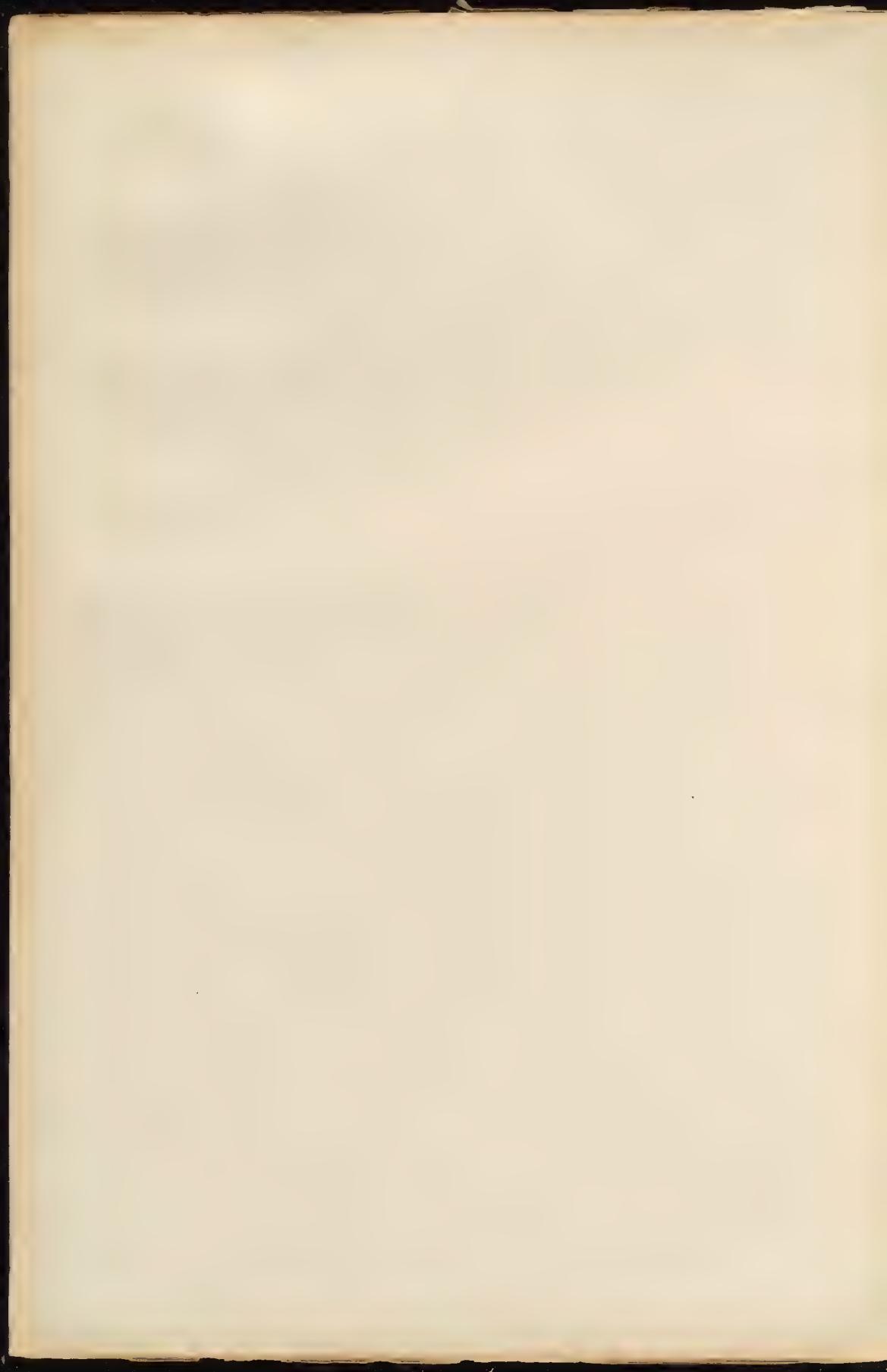


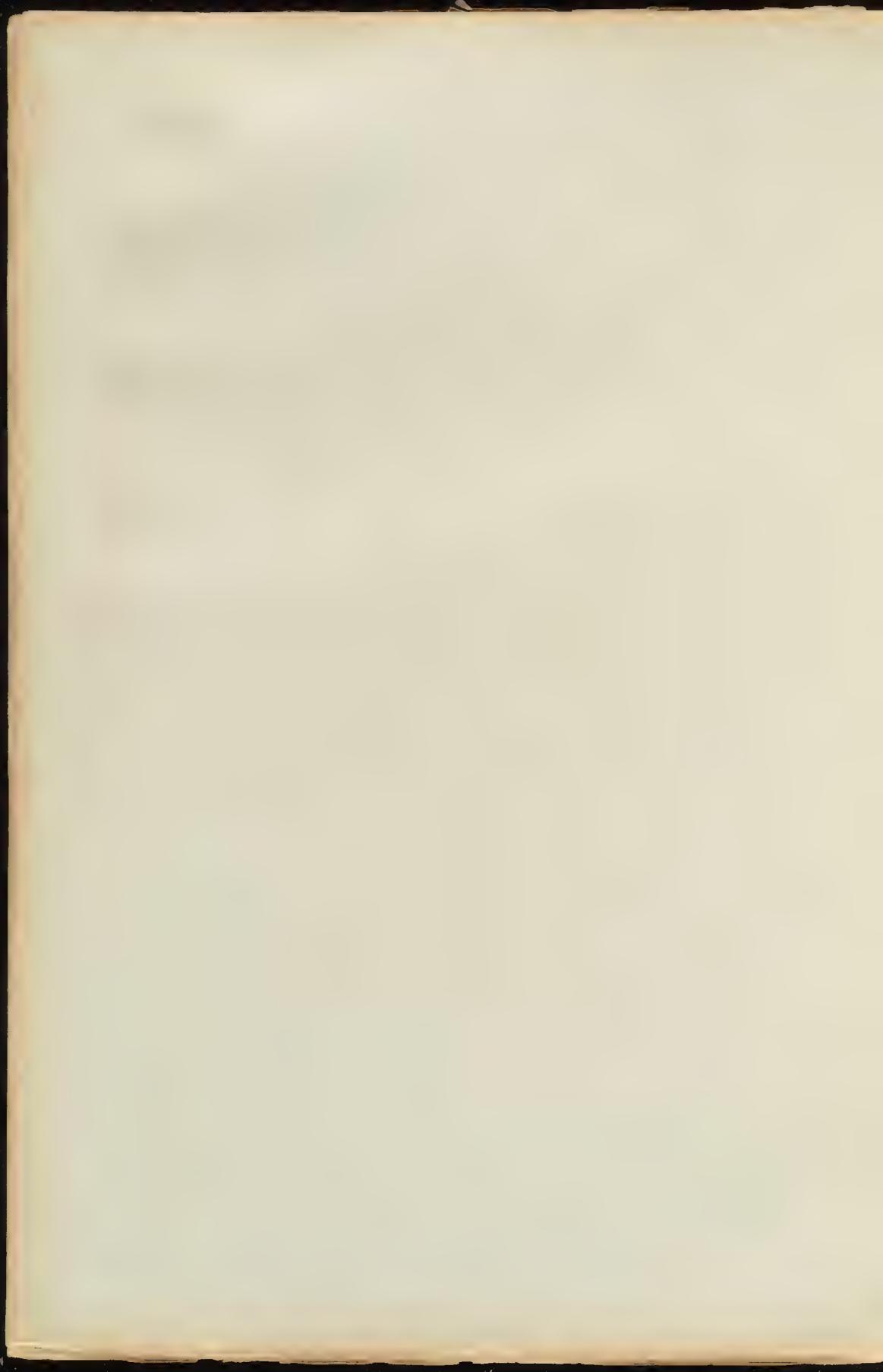
PLATE 69<sup>b</sup>. LEASE IN ARSINOE, A.D. 93

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, CCXVI

**T**HIS is a deed whereby Eriens, son of Eriens, a Persian "πηγερός" of the village of Soknopaineos, in the district of Herakleides (in the nome of Arsinoe) in Egypt, takes on lease for a year from Stoteis, son of Apynchis, and Stoteis, son of Stoteis, lessees under Pisaïs, a storehouse, comprising a tower, a court, and five chambers (*τάπαις*); paying dues amounting to 45 artabas of good corn; the furniture and fabric being cared for by the lessors, and the whitewashing and safe-keeping of stores by the lessee, and the lessors having the use of one chamber free of rent, dated 6th of the month Germanikeion, in the thirteenth year of Domitian (3d or 6th of Sept. A.D. 93). Written on papyrus, measuring 9½ by 5¾ inches, in rapid cursive hand with mixed uncial and minuscule letters.

The opening lines are :

συνορητι αυτηχος [ει] συνορητι συνορητι[ε]  
ημεριντρου τοι διτι μαθηται ενεκου



۱۰۷

LEASE IN ARSINOE

A D 93

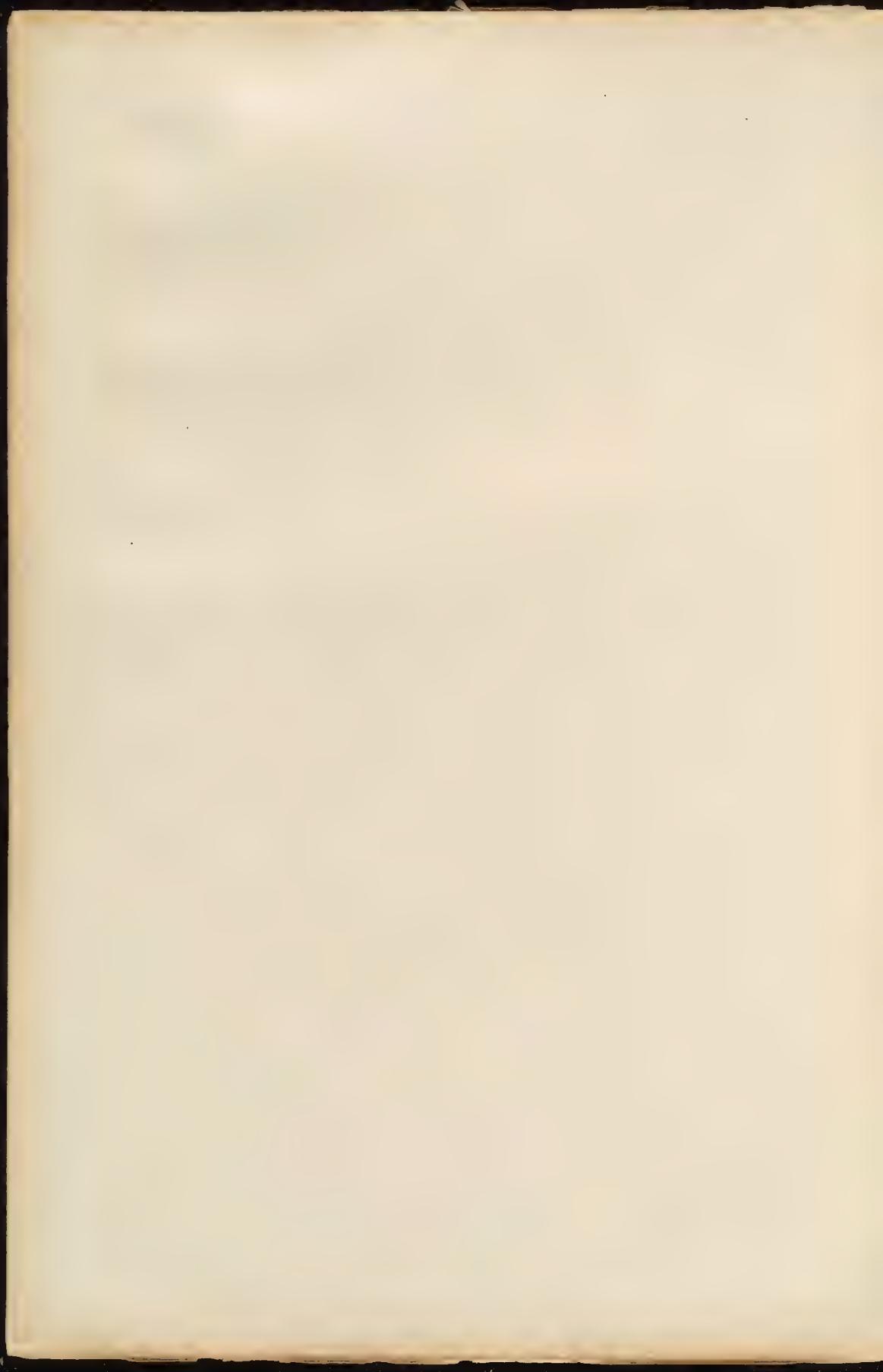


PLATE 70. POTSHERDS OR OSTRAKA, A.D. 39-123

British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities

**T**HIS plate is a selection from a series of ostraka or inscribed potsherds, found at Elephantine, Thebes, and other places in Egypt, and containing tax-gatherers' acquaintances, in Greek, for different imposts levied under the Roman Empire; A.D. 39-123. (See *Ostraca Indicti* by M. Froehner, in the *Revue Archéologique*, nouv. sér., 1865, vol. xi, p. 422; xii, p. 30; and papers "On Some Ostraka, or Inscribed Potsherds of the Time of the Twelve Caesars," by Dr. S. Birch, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1883.)

Dr. Birch, in these papers, tells us that, according to information derived from Mr. Greville Chester and Mr. Walter Myers, these fragments of ostraka are found inscribed in the sun-dried bricks of Coptic buildings as binding for the fragile clay.

Some of the fragments possess hieratic inscriptions traced in black ink, but of these but few have been found. Many fragments with demotic inscriptions relating to various subjects have been discovered, and also fragments with Greek inscriptions pertaining to different subjects, chiefly, however, tax-gatherers' receipts for the different impositions under the Roman Empire, none having been found earlier than the first Caesars; lastly, fragments with Coptic inscriptions, principally religious, and letters.

The nature of these inscriptions, which have all been written on sherds or pieces of broken pottery, points to the different ages of the various kinds of pottery employed for the purpose. That of the hieratic period is rather thick, and red externally, but with a black fracture in the middle. Those of the period of the Roman Empire are from smooth, unglazed vases, made of a red paste, with a red fracture throughout, and pitched internally for the purpose of holding liquids, apparently wine.

The later Greek inscriptions were traced upon pale red or yellow vases, and the Coptic on red pottery, often fluted, showing that they came from fluted amphorae or sistras, also used for water or wine, some of which are to be found in different collections.

The potsherds exhibited on the plate are in several tints of red, in brown, or in light yellow. The writing is in mixed uncials and minuscules, varying considerably in the different documents, and sometimes assuming a cursive character.

The Greek of No. 5, which is printed beneath in the modern character, shows two abbreviations:  $\frac{1}{2}$  for δισκανή and  $\frac{1}{2}$  for τροφ.

δευτερ[η] φ[ιλί] πρωτοπότος δένδρων αργιλ[ού]  
μη[τρί] ανογματ[ησα]ν τον τραπεζοντος καποντος  
[του ειρηνης επι λογ[ισμού]  $\frac{1}{2}$  η  
· αντος της Αντος  $\frac{1}{2}$  θ  
ερμογενης πρωτ[ησα]ν γραψα

Translation :

A.D. 98. "Harpssis, son of Phenophis, son of Apheax, has paid for the poll-tax of the first year of Trajan Caesar, the lord, on account, 8 drachmas. He (owes) the remaining 9 drachmas. I, Hermogenes, the collector, have written."

The translation of the remainder reads :

(1) A.D. 39. "Ephebon, son of Pusanx, son of Pasenis, has paid for the poll-tax of the third year of Caius Caesar, on the 6th of Epiph, eight drachmas of silver  $\frac{1}{2}$  8, on account."

(2) A.D. 41-54. "Ruphonius, (collector) Rotynus . . . has paid for a tax of the 4th year on palm-trees (?) eight drachmas  $\frac{1}{2}$  8 (in the reign) of Claudius Caesar."

(3) A.D. 58. "(Ru)phonius, (collector) . . . son of (Petro)smethes, has paid for a tax of the 4th year on palm-trees (?) two drachmas, one obol, . . .  $\frac{1}{2}$  2, (in the reign) of Nero Caesar, the lord, the 20th of Pharmouthi."

(4) A.D. 77. "Phenopis . . . has paid for the poll-tax of the 8th (year) of Vespasian . . . the 22d of Payni, sixteen drachmas of silver,  $\frac{1}{2}$  16. I, Adianoe, have written."

(6) A.D. 101. "Petrosmethes, son of Pelaioupaia, for the poll-tax of the 4th year of Trajan, the lord, on account eight (drachmas)  $\frac{1}{2}$  8; likewise four drachmas,  $\frac{1}{2}$  4. He owes the remaining 5 drachmas. I, Hermogenes, the collector, have written."

(7) A.D. 105. "Harpssis, son of Phenophis, son of Thrakis, has paid for the poll-tax of the 8th year of Trajan Caesar, the lord, seventeen drachmas of silver  $\frac{1}{2}$  17; with those which I formerly had. I, Hermogenes, son of Ammonates, collector, have written, the 20th of Mesore."

(8) A.D. 111. "Pelaidetes, son of Mnesetairikos, to Thipsansnous, son of Tachcomtbeikis, greeting. I have from thee the remaining one drachma of the 14th year of Trajan Caesar, the lord, the 9th of Payni."

(9) A.D. 123. "Sannous, collector. Pachnoubis, son of Phanophis and his mother, Tachomtbeikis, has paid on the assessment of the conservancy of the river, of the 6th year of Hadrian, the lord . . . 2 drachmas, 3 obols. I, Sarmous (Sannous?) the collector, have written, the 6th of Pharmouthi."





POTSHERDS OR OSTRAKA

A. D. 39 to 123

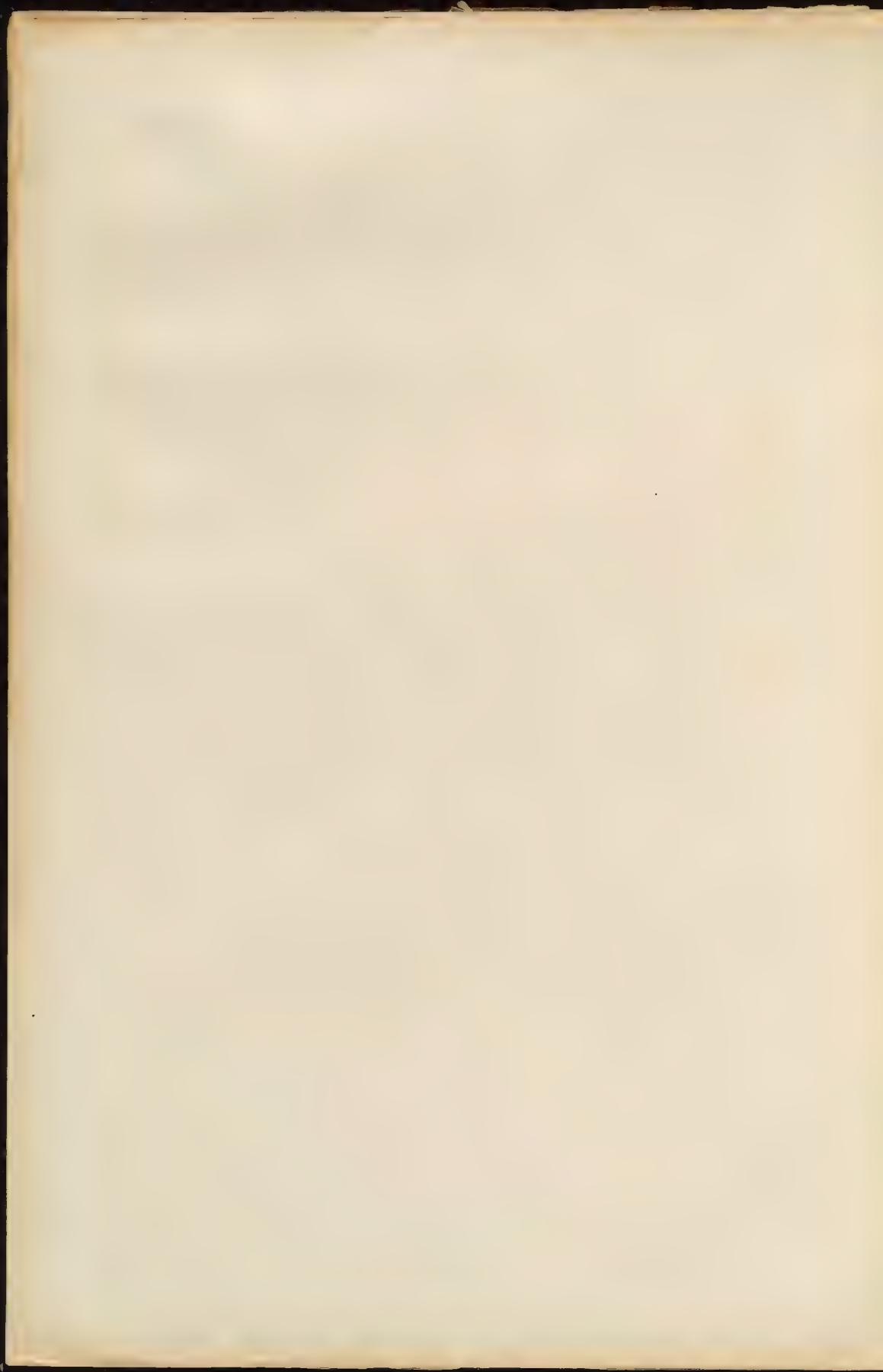


PLATE 70a. PHILODEMUS (FIRST CENTURY A.D.)

Naples, Museo Nazionale

**T**WO of the fragments of a papyrus manuscript of the work of the Epicurean Philodemus—*πρᾶγμα καὶ τριπάνων*—discovered at Herculaneum. They are published in fac-simile in the *Volumina Herculaneensia, collectio altera*, Volume iv (Naples, 1864), plates 39, 41; and have been edited by Theodor Gomperz in *Herculanische Studien, erstes Heft* (Leipzig, 1865), pages 44, 45. The reading of the plate is chiefly supplied from Gomperz's text. The manuscript must necessarily be older than A.D. 79, the year in which Herculaneum was overwhelmed.

In neatly formed uncials, the words not separated. A short stroke as in the third line of the second column, indicates a new sentence. The letters are regular and upright, and there are some curious shapes, as in *B*, *Δ*, *€*, *Ζ*.

The first four lines of the Greek are :

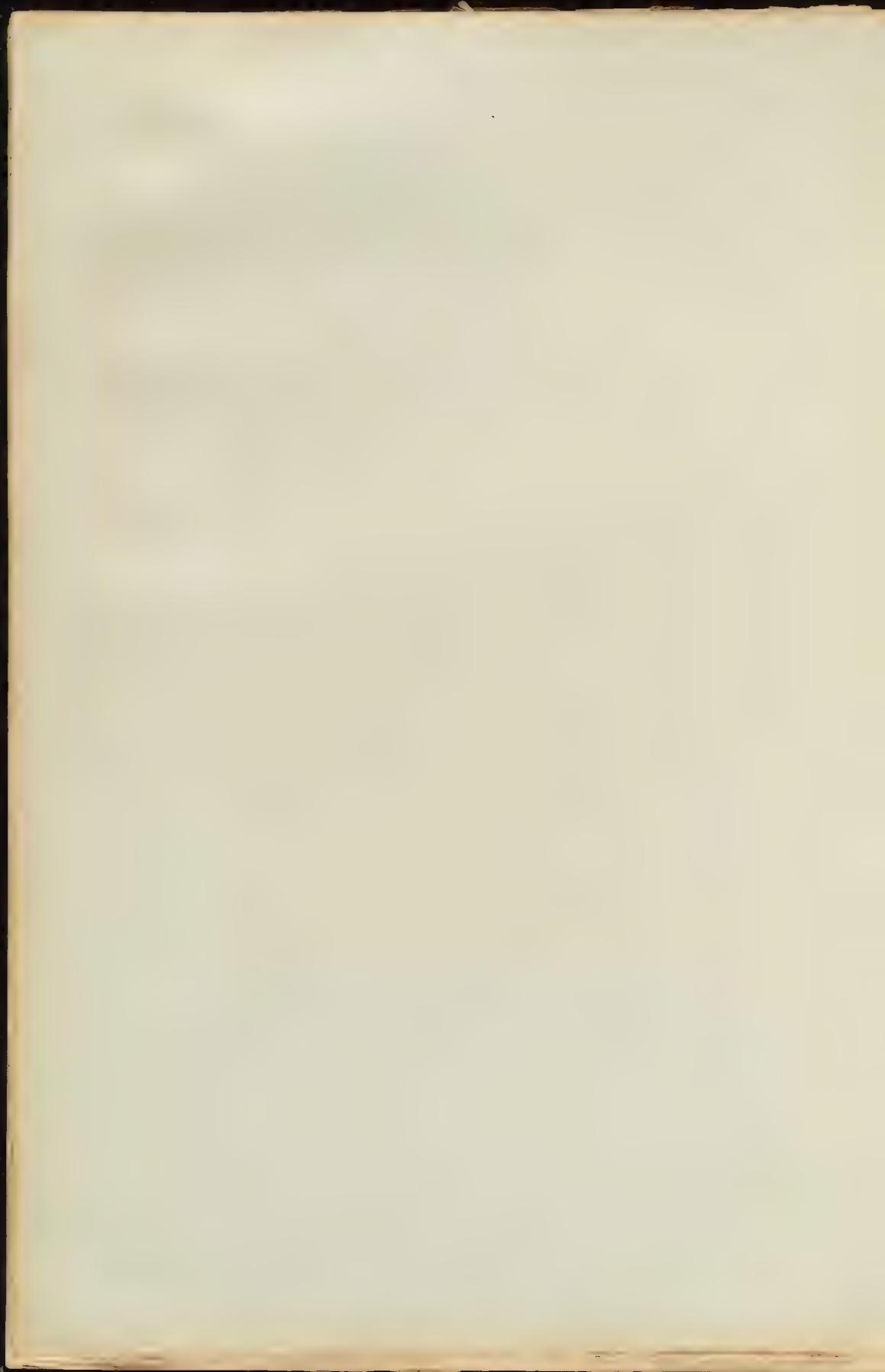
κούνη δε το δαι κενομάτων παν  
τον το και τοι αθρόος και αρι  
μη πυρος αντι σοτη η γεροστος  
η καινος αποτελεσθη τοι παν

Philodemus, the Epicurean poet and philosopher, a native of Gadara, in Palestine, dwelt in Rome contemporaneously with Cicero. Cicero accuses Philodemus in a violent diatribe—without, however, mentioning his name—of being the aider and abettor of Piso, whose intimate friend he was, in all his profligacy (*Cic. in Piz.*, 28–29), though, while attacking his character, he praises his poetical skill and elegance, his philosophy, and general knowledge in glowing terms; and in *De Fin.* ii, 55, we may notice he says, “Sironem et Philodemum cum optimos viros tum doctissimum homines.” We may infer from Cicero's remarks that Philodemus was one of the most distinguished Epicurean philosophers of his day.

This philosophical school, of which Philodemus was so ardent a disciple, was founded by Epicurus, a Greek philosopher, and called, after him, the Epicurean.

Although the doctrine laid down by Epicurus was that “pleasure” is the chief good, yet the life that he and his followers led was most temperate and simple. Holding, as we remarked before, that “pleasure” was the chief good, it was a misapprehension of the meaning of this term, as employed by him, that caused the word Epicurean to signify one who indulged his appetites without stint; it being obvious that the use of the word “pleasure” was calculated to produce the results with which later Epicureanism is charged.

Philodemus has left no less than thirty-six philosophical works, which were discovered at Herculaneum, the greater part in very bad preservation. These books treat of music, rhetoric, the vices, virtues, the gods, etc. His *Epigrams* were included in the *Anthology* of Philo of Thessalonica, and he appears to have been the earliest poet who had a place in this collection. The anthology contains thirty-four of his epigrams, chiefly of a light and amatory character; these confirm Cicero's statements regarding the licentiousness of his matter and the elegance of his style.





PHILODEMUS

1st CENTURY

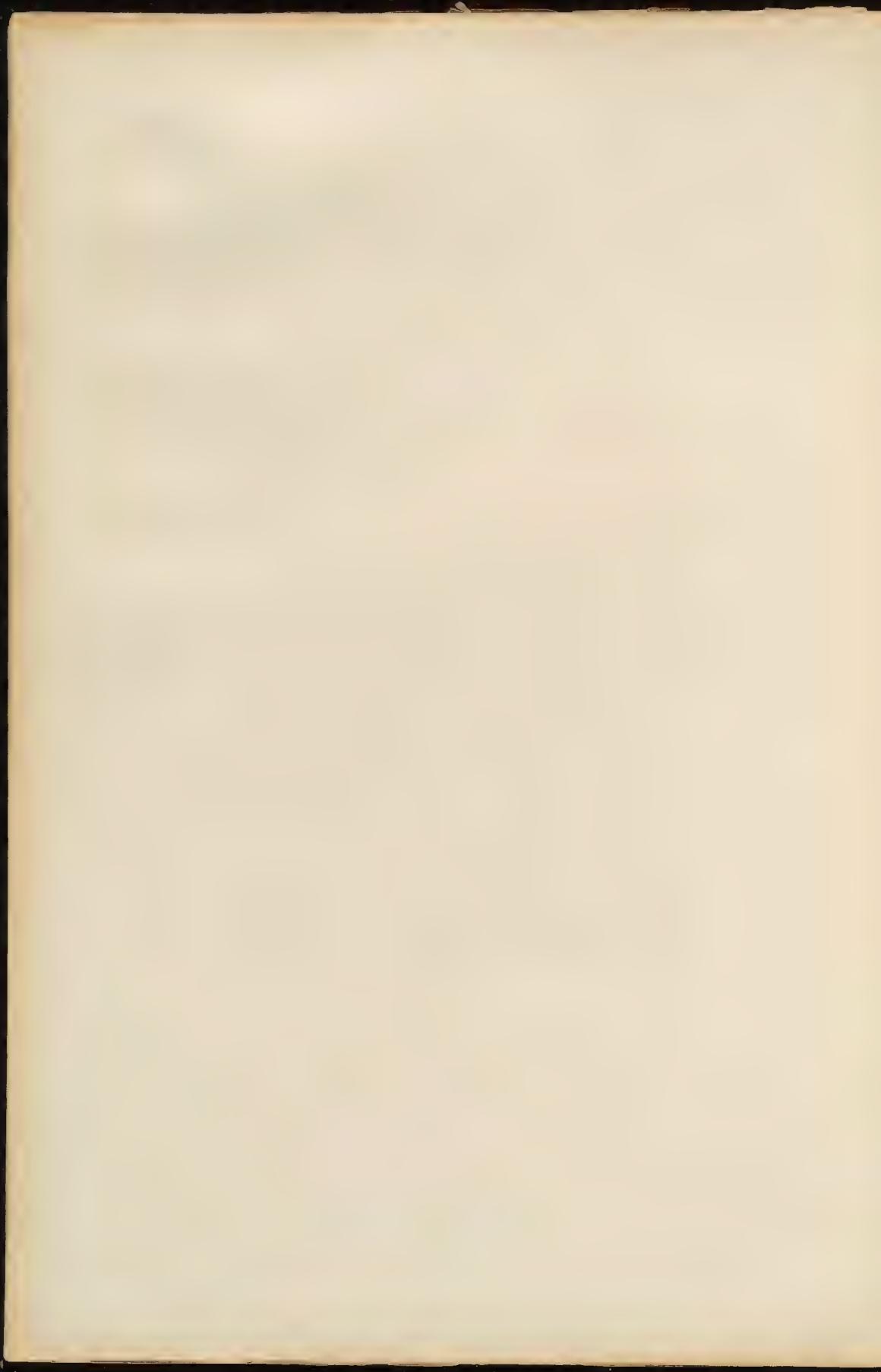


PLATE 71. MONEY ACCOUNTS, A.D. 142 and  
166

British Museum, Greek Papyri, Nos. CCCIII and CCCXXII

**T**WO documents, in Greek, on papyrus, viz. :  
(a) Transcript of a receipt from Dioscorus, son of Castor, son of Herakleides, living in the Street of the Goose-pens (*xypobouneum*) in Herakleia, in Egypt, to Stoteitiss, son of Horus, son of Tesenuphis, of the village of Socnopai Nessus, for the payment of 148 drachmas, the price of an ass; dated at Herakleia in the district of Themistis, in the nome of Arsinoe, 15th of the month of Cessareius (= 16th of Mesore), in the fifth year of Antoninus Pius (10th August, A.D. 142). Measuring 8 by 4 inches.

(b) Record of payment by Didymus, son of Didymus, Sosicosmus, also called Altheeus, Tesenuphis, son of Tesenuphis, and others, to Claudianus, also called Serenus, son of Mysthes, of a debt of 1,124 drachmas, with autograph receipt by Claudianus; dated 13th of the month Thoth, in the seventh year of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (10th of September, A.D. 166). Measuring 9 by 3 inches.

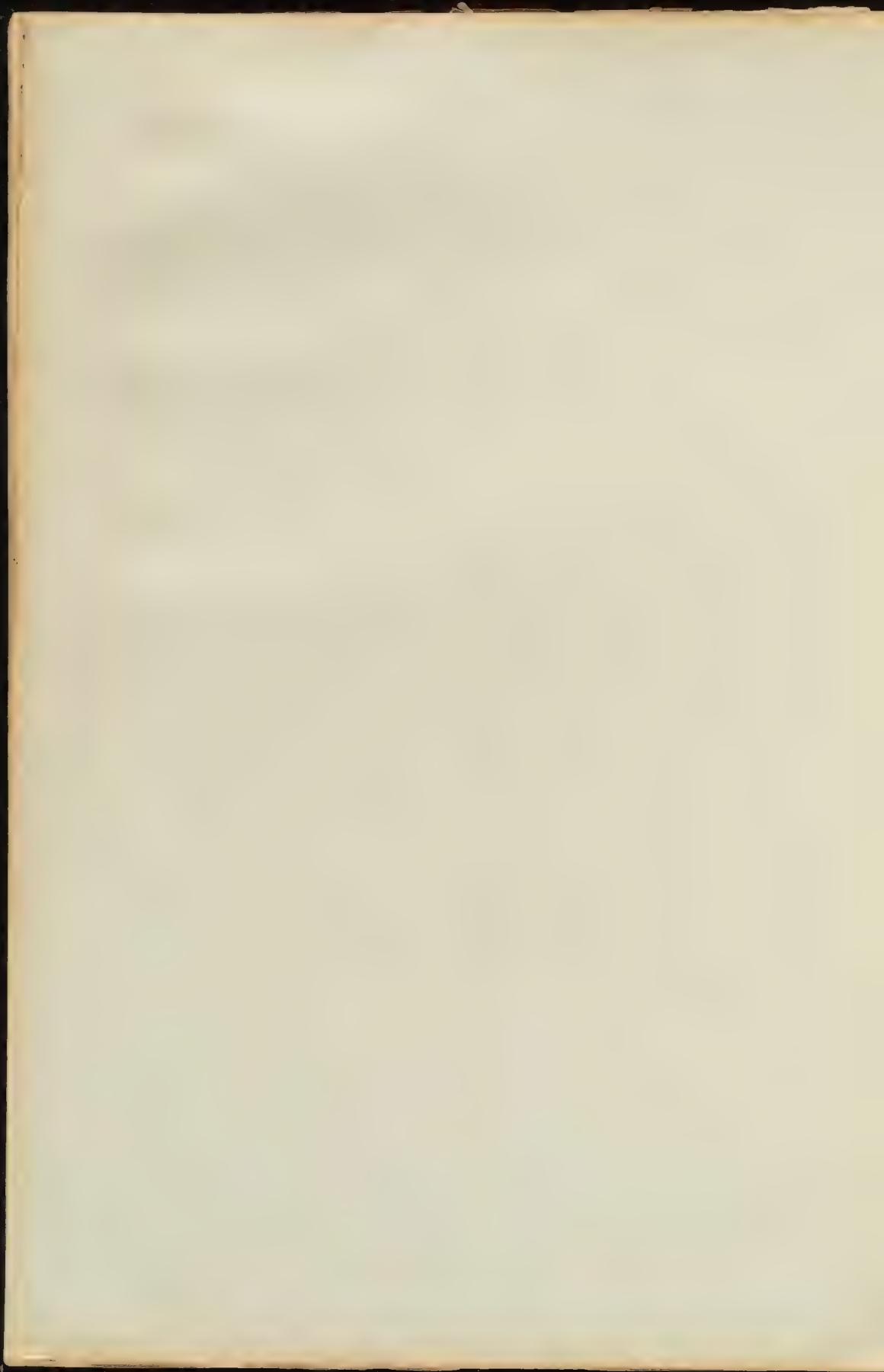
In (a) the writing is in light cursive letters of mixed uncial and minuscule types. Among them may be noticed the u-shaped β, the e-shaped ε, the hurried slanting form of Μ; the n-shaped π; and the open ρ.

In (b) a cramped cursive hand is employed, the strokes inclining to the left. The forms of letters are mixed uncials and minuscules. Among them occur u-shaped β; Δ as a curve, open at the top; the γ-shaped γ; the n-shaped π; the down-curved ζ; and open ρ combining in an unusual manner with other letters (e.g. 1, 4).—Paleographical Society.

Beginning of Greek:

€πειρα[ται] δια του ει πρα[λαι] γη[αθεαν]

Ε ΤΟΥΤ ΤΗΓΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ





MONEY ACCOUNTS

(A. D. 142 and 166)



PLATE 72. SALE OF A SLAVE, A.D. 166

British Museum, Papyrus CCXXIX

**D**EED of sale, in Latin, whereby C. Fabullius Macer, "optio" of the trireme *Tigris* in the Misenaean fleet, purchases a boy named Abbas, or Eutyches, "natione Transfluminianus," aged seven years, from Q. Julius Priscus, a soldier of the same ship, for 200 denarii. C. Julius Antiochus, "manipularius" of the trireme *Virtus*, is named as surety, but as he cannot write, a "suboptio" of the trireme *Liber Pater* attests for him; and there are three other witnesses, including the chief trumpeter of the *Virtus*, who add their signatures. These are followed by a defaced line of writing, and this again by a mutilated subscription in Greek, probably the memorandum of an official, dated at Seleucia Pieria in Syria, in the winter quarters of the squadron, A.D. VIII. Kal. Jun. in the consulsip of Q. Servilius Pudens and A. Fufidius Pollio (24th of May, A.D. 166). The date written in the Greek subscription, the numerals of which are in the reverse order, is the year 274 of the era of the town of Seleucia, which began in B.C. 108, and is equivalent to A.D. 166.—*Paleographical Society*.

Papyrus, measuring 14½ by 10¾ inches. With the seals of the parties and witnesses impressed in clay upon a fold at the top of the deed.

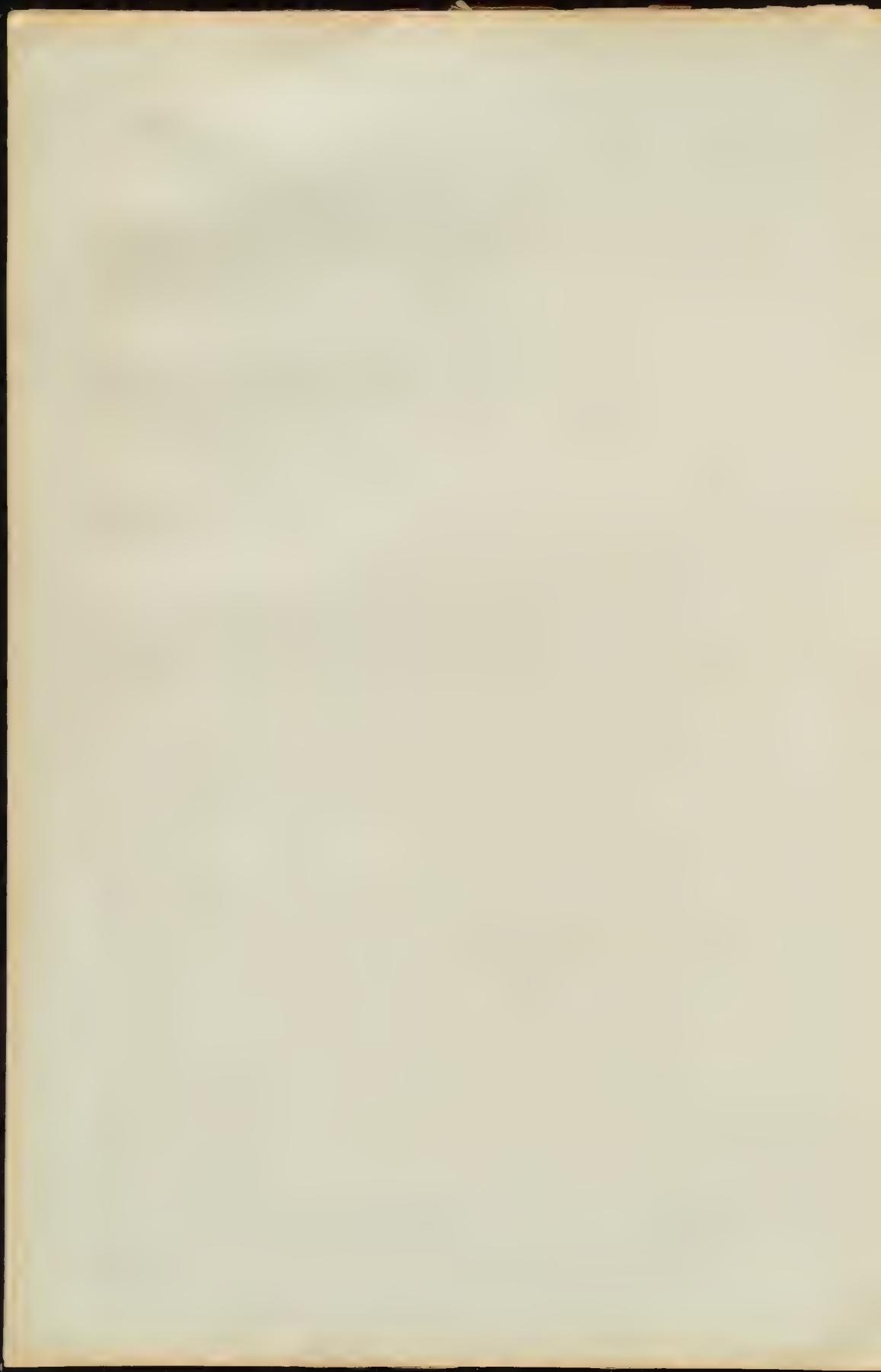
Written in boldly formed Roman cursive letters, generally of the type found in the wall-inscriptions of Pompeii, and in the waxen tablets. While the characteristic cursive forms of *B* and *P* are present, the specially cursive forms of *E*, *M*, *N*, made by vertical parallel strokes, are not employed. The attestation of C. Julius Titianus is written in a peculiarly cramped hand, the letter *E* being noticeable for its form. The first three letters of the word *Valens* in the next subscription form a monogram. Arbitrary signs are employed for the words *triere* and *centurio*.

The Latin transliteration begins:

"Caius fabullius macer optio classis praetoriae misena-  
tium *triere*  
tigride emit puerum natione transfluminianum."

The two lines of Greek at the bottom read:

Ἐποντος δέ αἰτιαν τον δέ δομενον γερμανός]  
[μητράρχης καιρού[νος] μεγαράκων εκ . . . . κα  
τη σπου [στι τοι παλέαν αἴθρια του λαοι εντεχοι



## SALE OF A SLAVE

(A, D. 166)



PLATE 73. HOMER'S ILIAD [SECOND  
CENTURY A.D.]

British Museum, Papyrus No. 514

THE twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad* of Homer, wanting the first 126 lines. Written on papyrus measuring 7 feet 8 inches by 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches, in 16 columns of from 42 to 44 lines, the last column being of 25 lines. Probably of the second century.

It was purchased by Mr. William John Banks at the island of Elephantine, in Egypt, in the year 1821, and was sold to the trustees of the British Museum in 1879.

The papyrus is of medium quality, and of a light brown color. The edges are worn away, but the text is perfect, with the exception of slight lacunes in the first six columns.

Neat uncials, inclined slightly to right, approaching to the character of the *Codex Vaticanus*; marginal and interlineal corrections by a second and a third hand. Subjects indicated in the margin thus:

$\alpha\chi\lambda\lambda\omega\zeta$   
 $\pi\vartheta\vartheta\pi\pi\zeta$   
 $\varphi\mu\pi\zeta$

} all in col. I.

The plate represents *Iliad* xxiv, lines 649-735.

This passage is nearly at the end of the work and describes how Achilles, at the end of the feast, bids his attendants prepare a couch for Priam. Before they part Achilles pledges himself to a truce of eleven days for the burial of Hector.

For other manuscripts of Homer, see plates 65b, 68, 76, and 83a





HOMER'S ILIAD  
(2nd CENTURY)

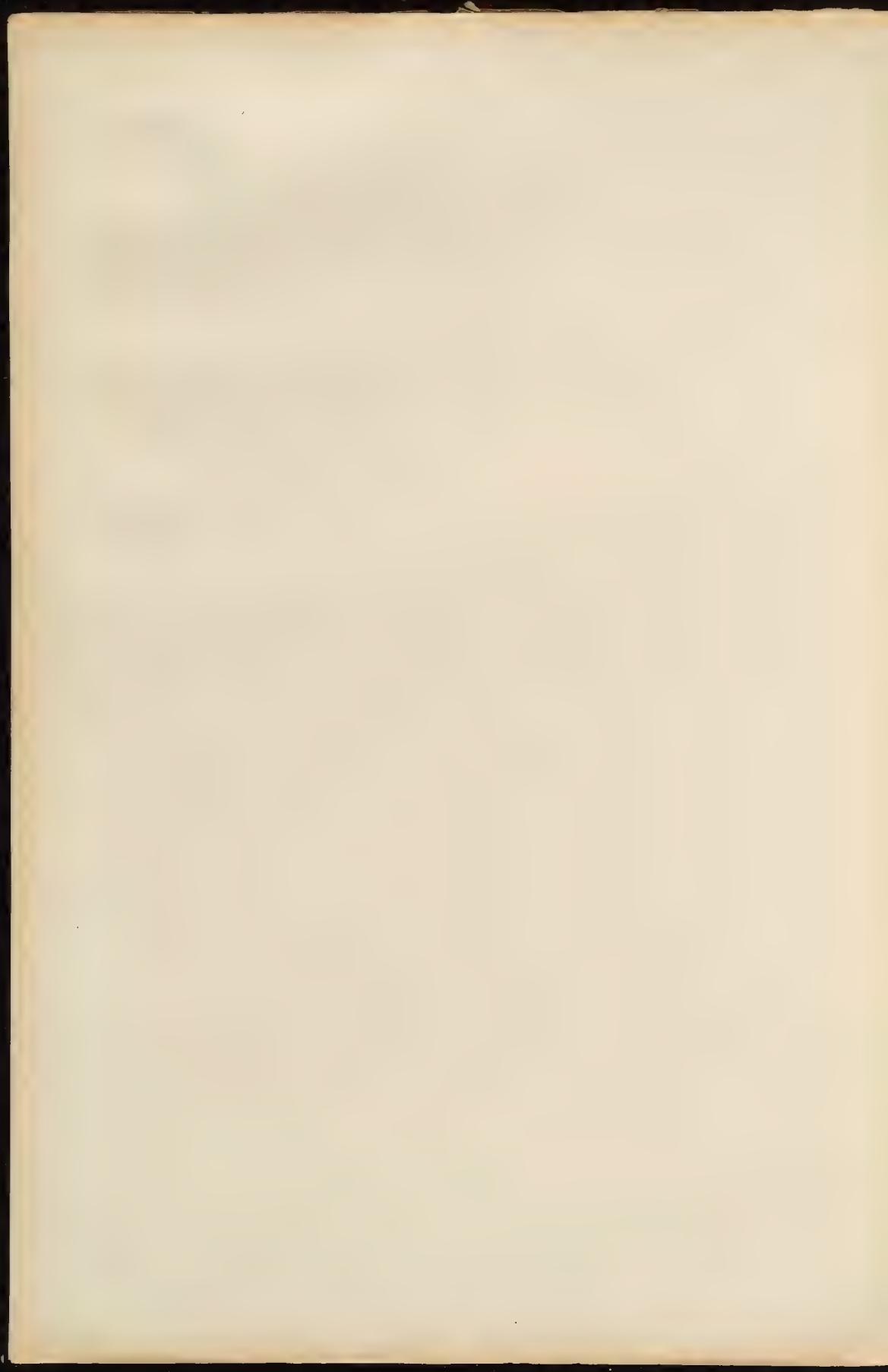


PLATE 74. TAXATION RETURN, A.D. 201

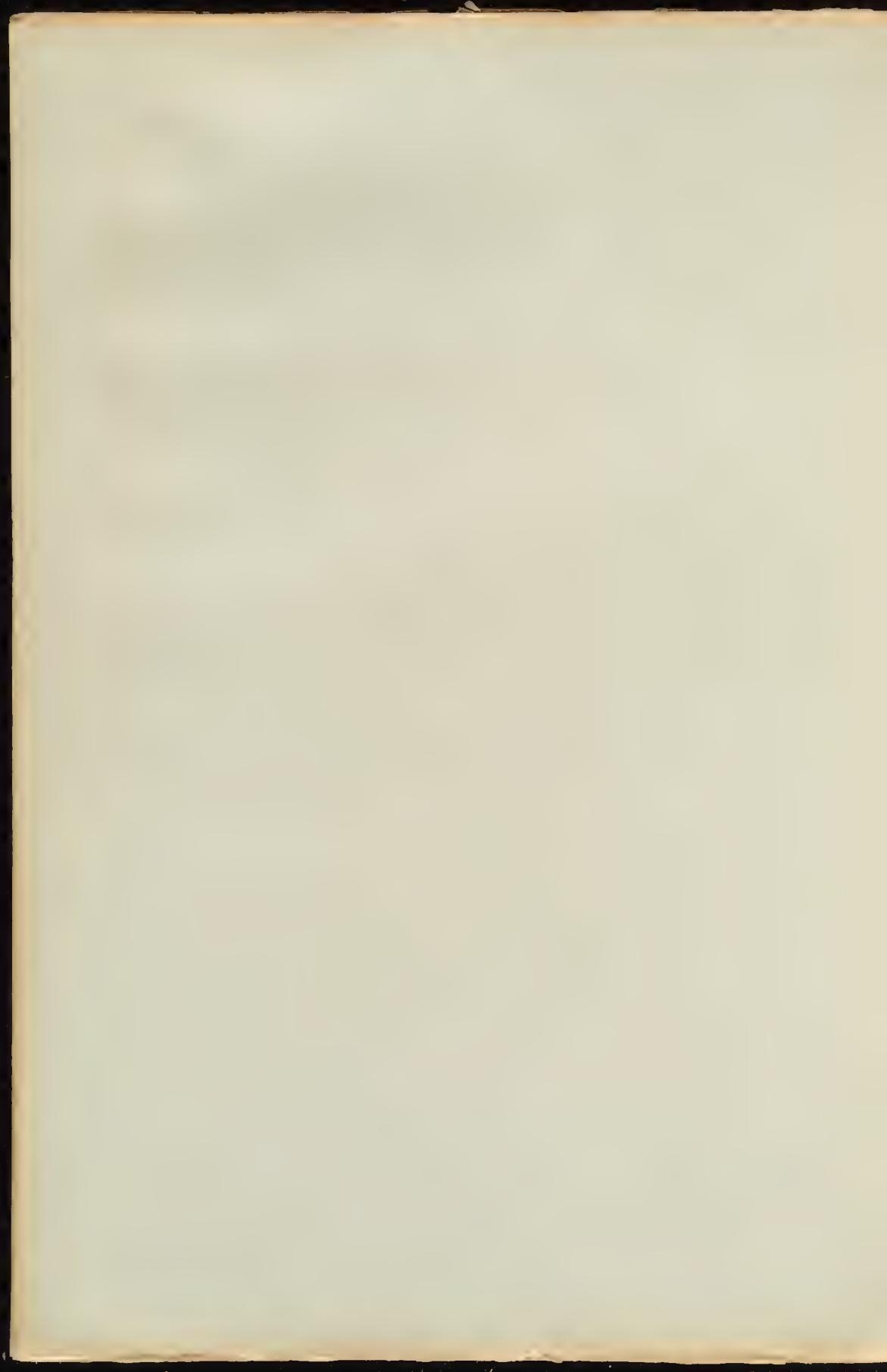
British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CCCXLVII

**R**ETURN in Greek made by Tesenuphis, son of Pacusis, Stotoëtis, son of Onnophris, and others, priests, for the purposes of taxation (*λαογραφία*) of the charges on them for the current year; dated 13th of the month Tubi, in the ninth year of Septimius Severus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius (i.e. Caracalla), and Geta, 8th of January, A.D. 201. Measures 5 by 10½ inches.

Written in a very cursive hand, the letters being generally minuscules, which in some of the formal words of the date-clause degenerate into mere running strokes. The most cursive letters are the u-shaped *b*; c-shaped *c*, *v*, and *w*; down-curving *s*, and the straggling *φ*. Symbols are used to represent *δρυμι*, obols, and chalchi. The name of Geta in line 3 has been defaced.

The three opening lines are:

[Ἐργον] θλωπειου στεπτηματος επειρογον ειναιβεστον·  
περιτηνεκος και μαλκον απρη[ιον] αγιον[ισαν] ειναιβεστος  
ειεβιαστον και πουντην στεπτημον γετα



TAXATION RETURN  
*(A. D. 201)*



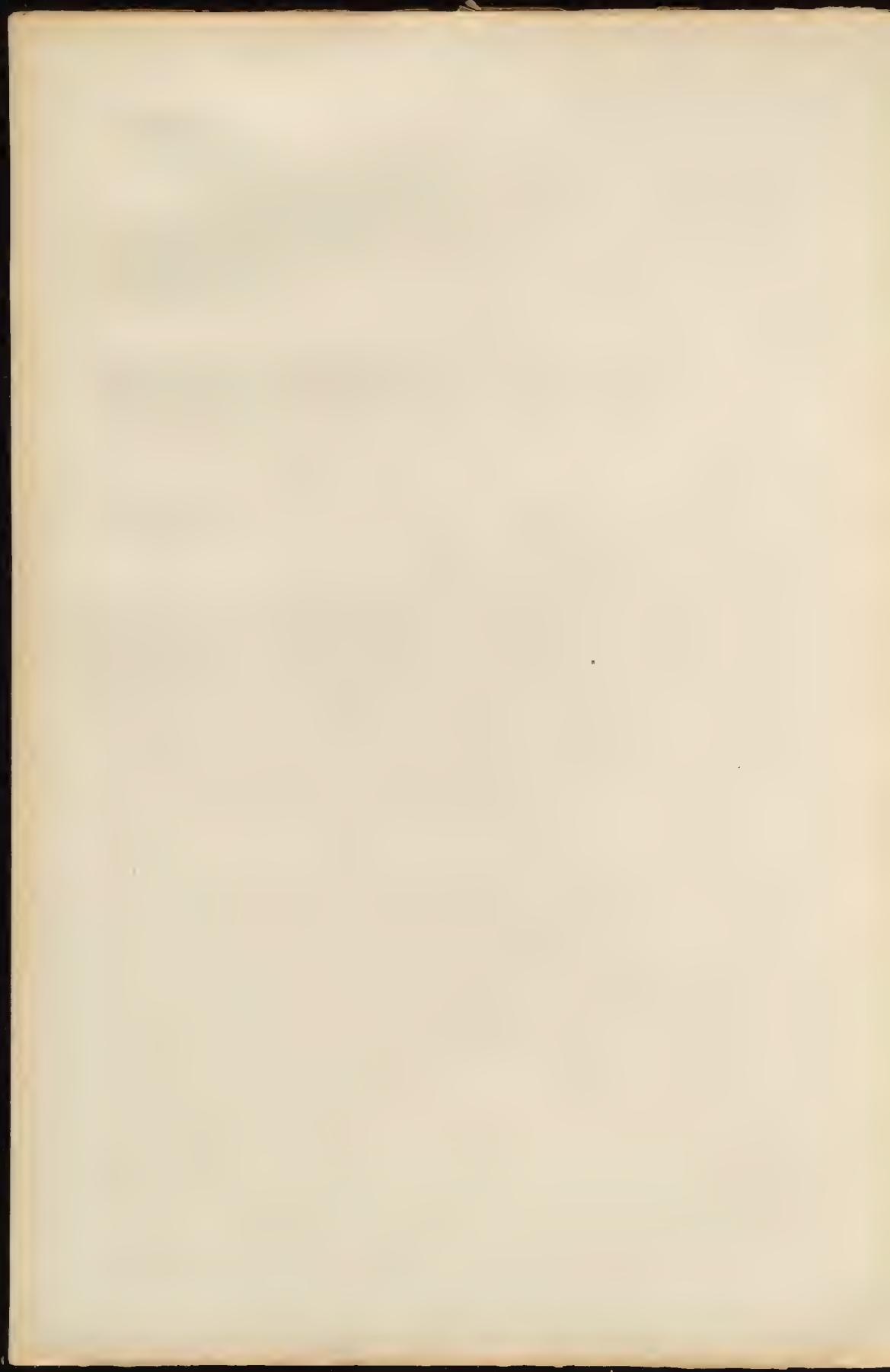


PLATE 74a. NOTE OF PAYMENT, A.D. 228

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CLXXX

**D**ECLARATION, in Greek, by Gaia Aurelia of having delivered in the treasury of the village of Nilopolis in Egypt, 46 artabas of wheat in two instalments, the one on the 9th of the month Pachon (7th of May), the other on the 4th Payni (29th of May), in the 7th year of Severus, which is equivalent to A.D. 228.

Papyrus; the whole document, of which this is the lower portion, measuring 12½ by 5¾ inches.

Written in roughly formed uncials, which in certain of their more cursive shapes approach minuscules. Among the latter are the *c*-shaped ε; *h*-shaped Η; *z*-shaped Κ; *w*-shaped Ν; *m*-shaped Π; down-curved Ζ; and Φ with open ω bow.

[ετος] ζανιακρατορος καισαρος μαρκος αυγολιαν  
οπουρου αλεξανδρου εντεβην εντιχαν



**NOTE OF PAYMENT**

(A. D. 228)

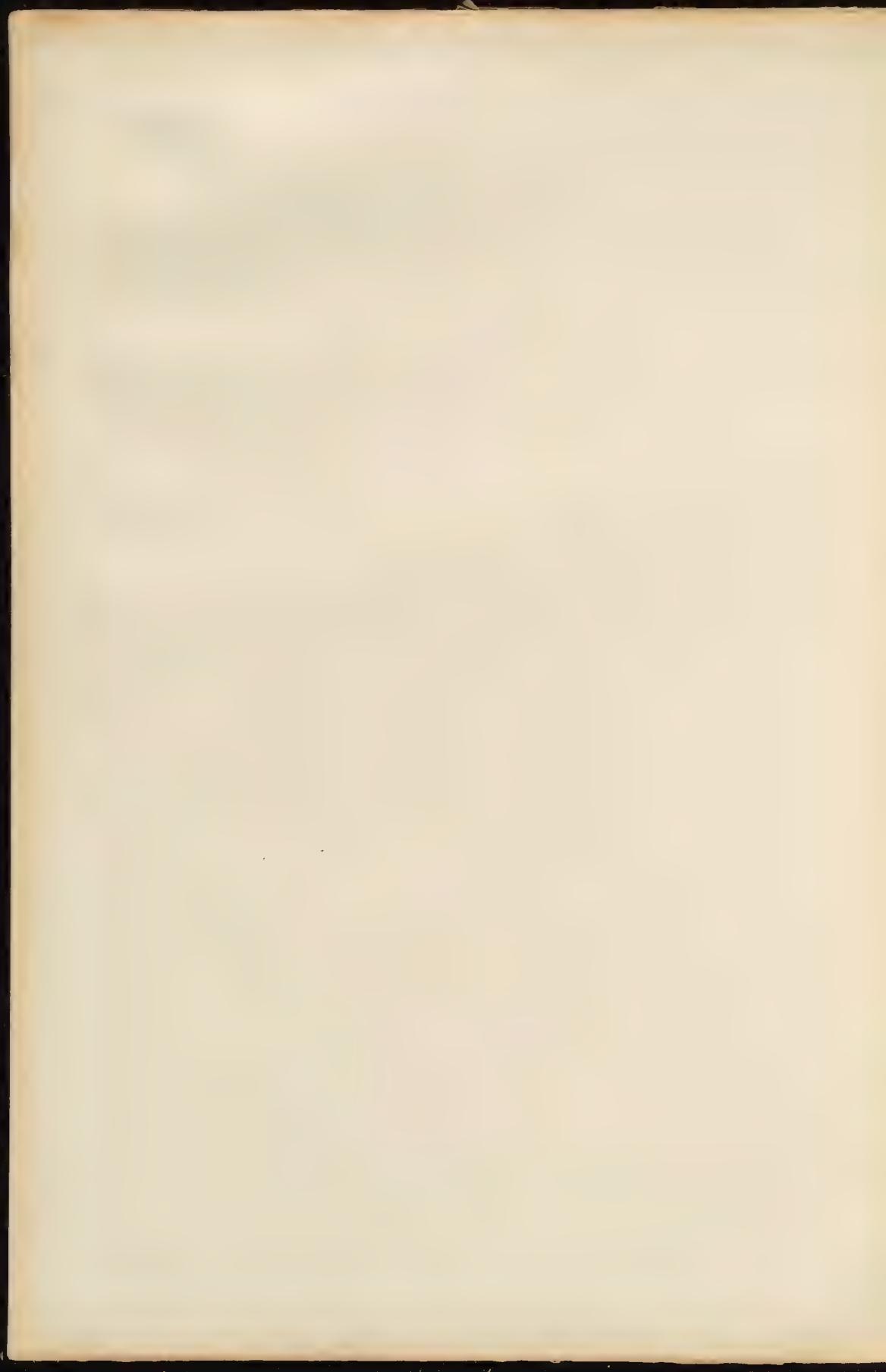


PLATE 74b. LETTER FROM MEMPHIS,  
A.D. 270-275

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CCXIV

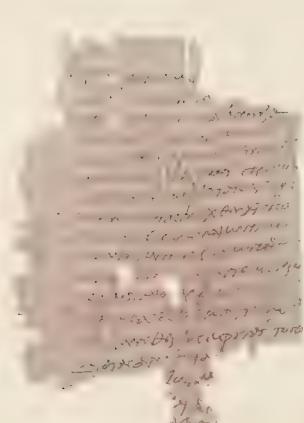
**P**ORTION of a letter from Aurelius Aretion, of Memphis, in Egypt, steward of the property of [Aurelius] Anoubas, to Aurelius Besarion, strategus of the nome, reporting a trespass by Patalas, the shipwright, on an olive-yard belonging to the Emperor Aurelian (A.D. 270-275). Papyrus, measuring 5 inches by 3½ inches.

Written in cursive letters of mixed forms, among which may be noticed the large straggling B; the open Δ; and the varying shapes of Α, Κ, and Η.

The document begins with the words:

*ανθηλος ανηγραψεν [αντα της]  
μημθιτι των επιλεκτων]*





LETTER FROM MEMPHIS

(A. D. 270-275)

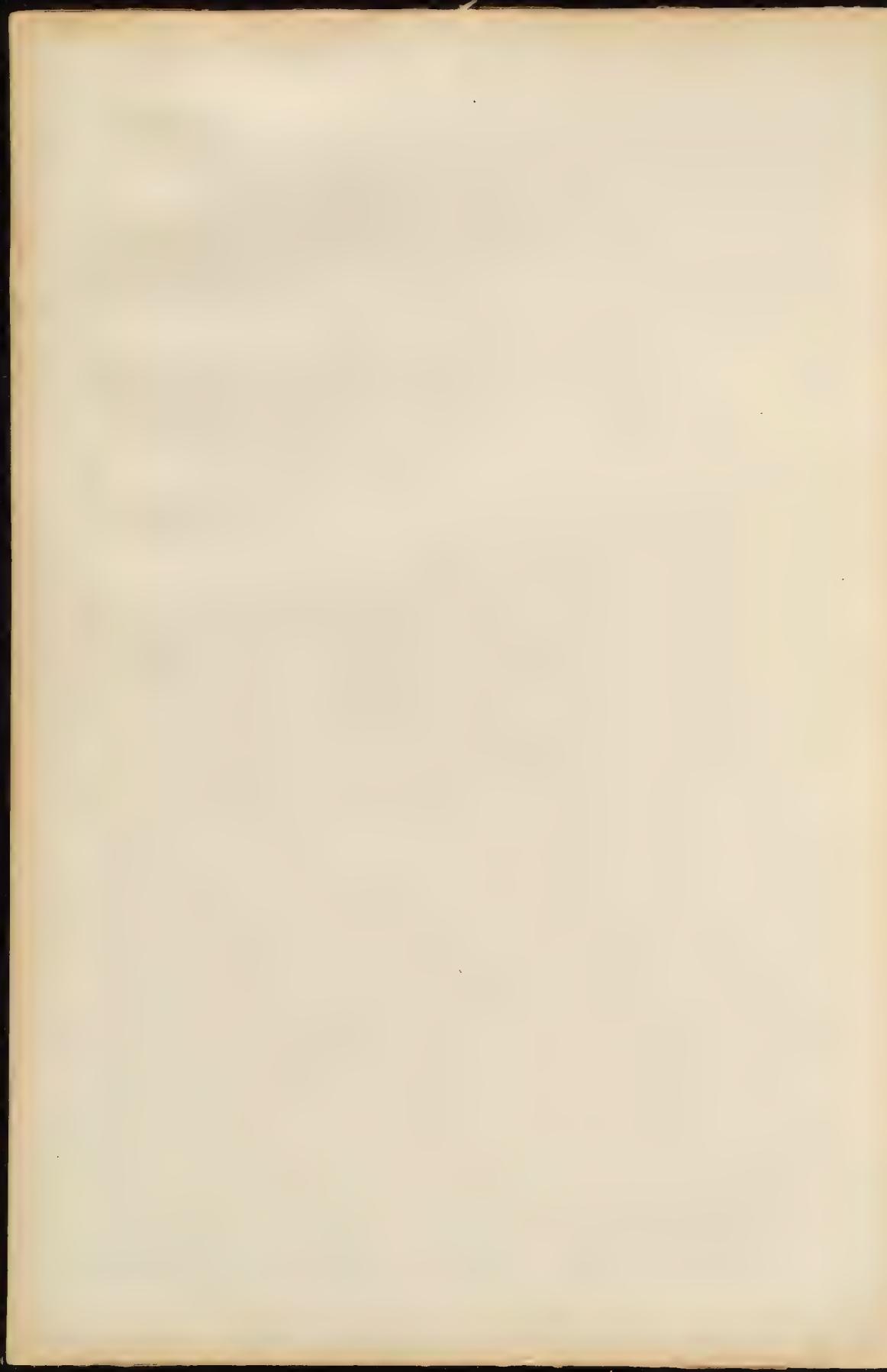


PLATE 75. LETTER (ABOUT A.D. 350)

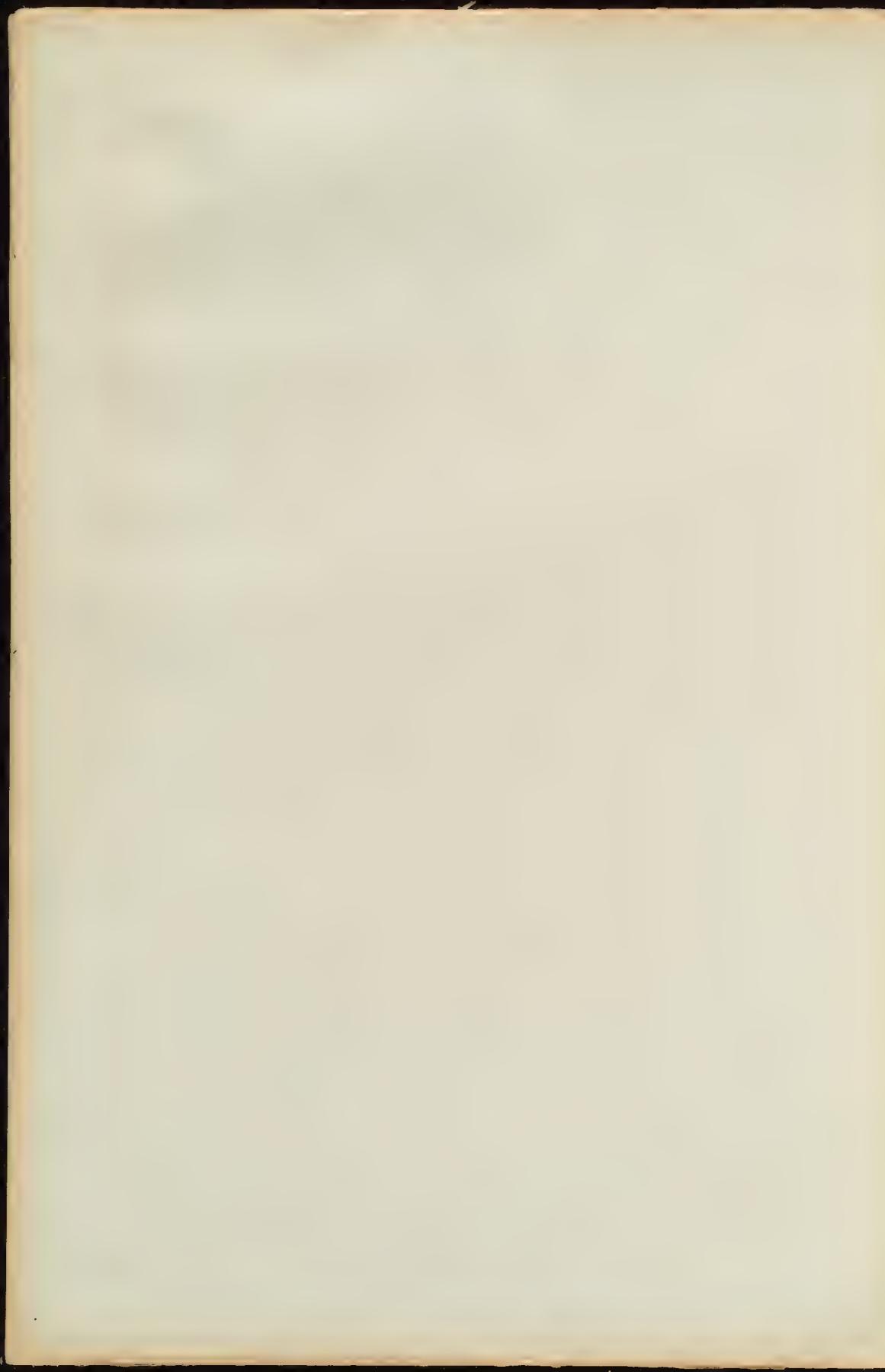
British Museum, Greek Papyrus, No. CCXXXIV

LETTER in Greek from Flavius Macarius, *ēnigratos th̄s orōrōs ar̄fōres*, or steward of the imperial property, to Flavius Aminneus, prefect of the camp at Dionysias, in the nome of Arsinoë in Egypt, conveying to him an order of Flavius Felicissimus, "Comes et Dux," requiring him, on pain of being reported for disaffection, to furnish soldiers to assist in the collection of the imperial dues. About A.D. 350. Felicissimus was Dux Egypti within the period A.D. 340-355. Papyrus, measuring 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches.

Written rather roughly in tall upright letters of both uncial and minuscule types, including u-shaped  $\beta$ ; the  $\delta$  frequently in form of a Latin d; the h-shaped  $\eta$ , as well as in the uncial form; and flat open  $v$  often written above the line. There is a tendency to ornament the top of vertical strokes with a loop.

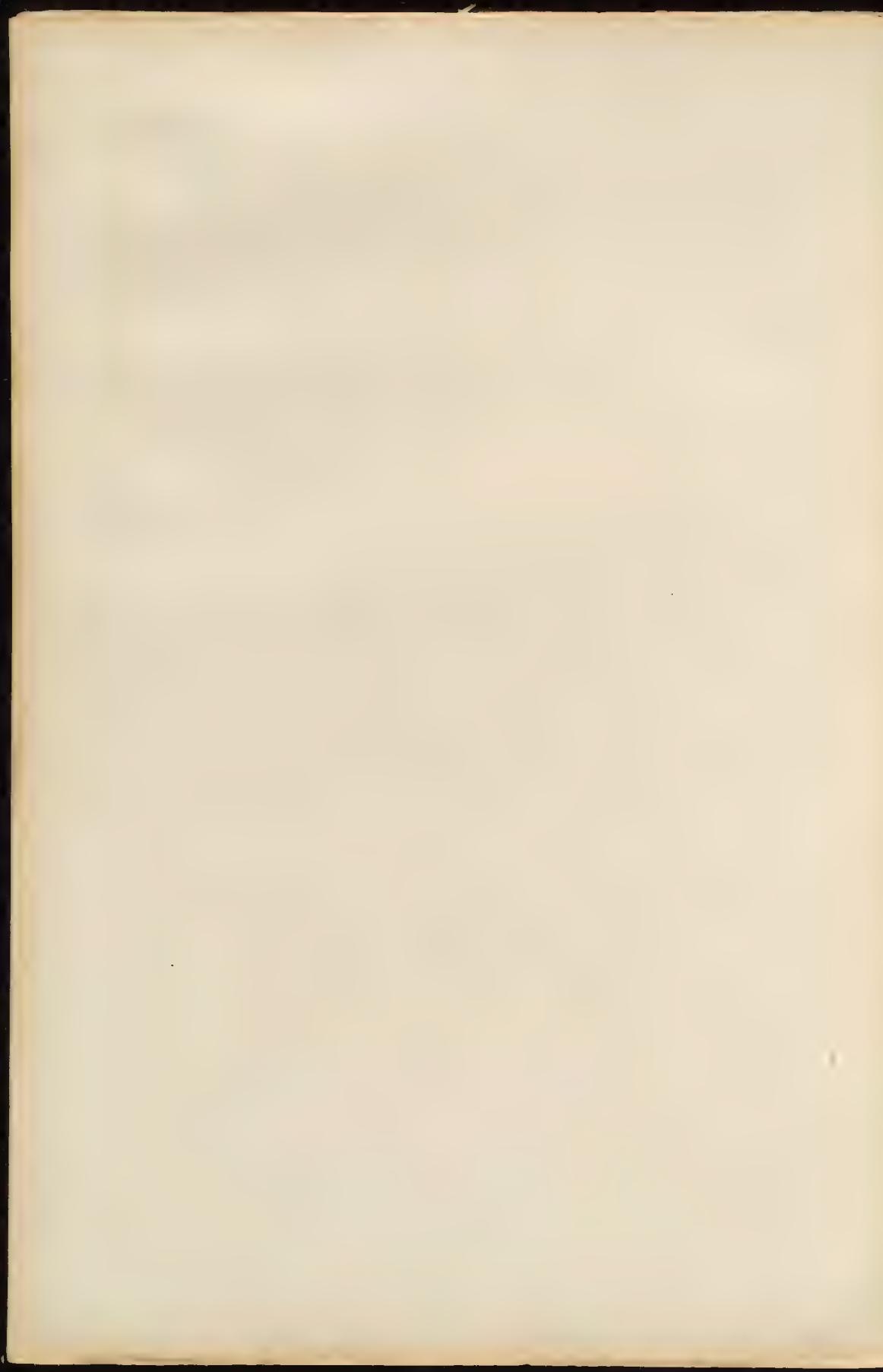
The heading reads:

οἱ[σπειρ] μακαρίος διατῆμ[οι] εὐαγ[ένοι] δεκαποτ[ων] κτύπεων  
φλ[ιδων] αμαρτει πη[μαρστοι] κατρο[δονισιδοι]  
χαρτα





LETTER  
(ABOUT A. D. 350)



75a. LETTER (ABOUT A.D. 350)

British Museum, Greek Papyrus, CCXXXVI

**L**ETTER in Greek from Aetius to his 'lord and brother' (Abinnaeus?), reporting the despatch of supplies of corn, oil, hides, etc.; and asking instructions with reference to certain soldiers lately arrived. About A.D. 350.

"Papyrus, measuring 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 4 inches.

"Written in an upright cursive hand in mixed uncials and minuscules, among which occur the large  $\beta$ ; open  $\delta$ ; h-shaped  $\pi$ ; and  $\alpha$  made in a single e-shaped stroke or curve, as well as in the usual form. The symbol for artaba occurs in line 4."—*Palaeographical Society*.

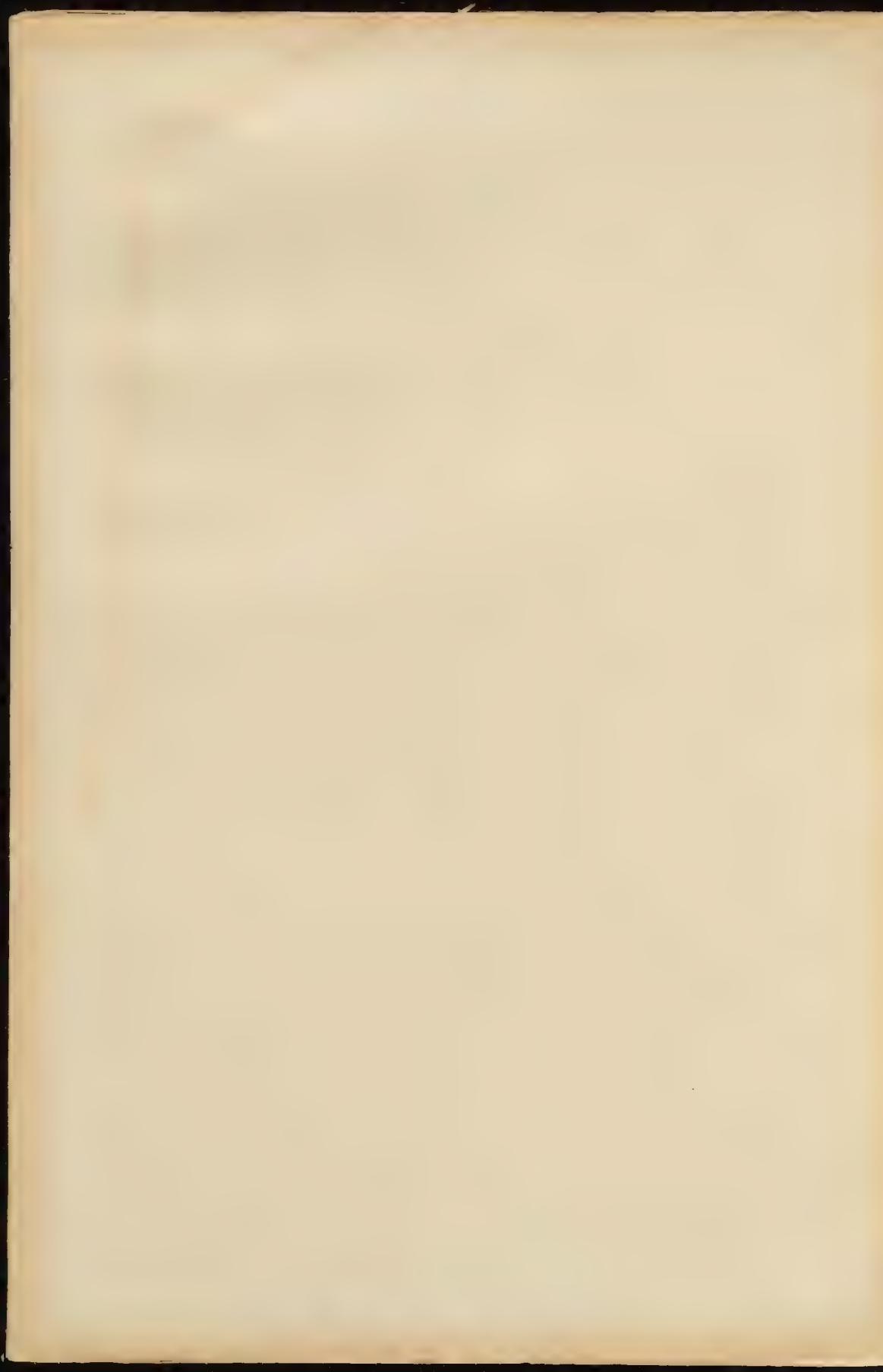
The Greek transliteration begins :

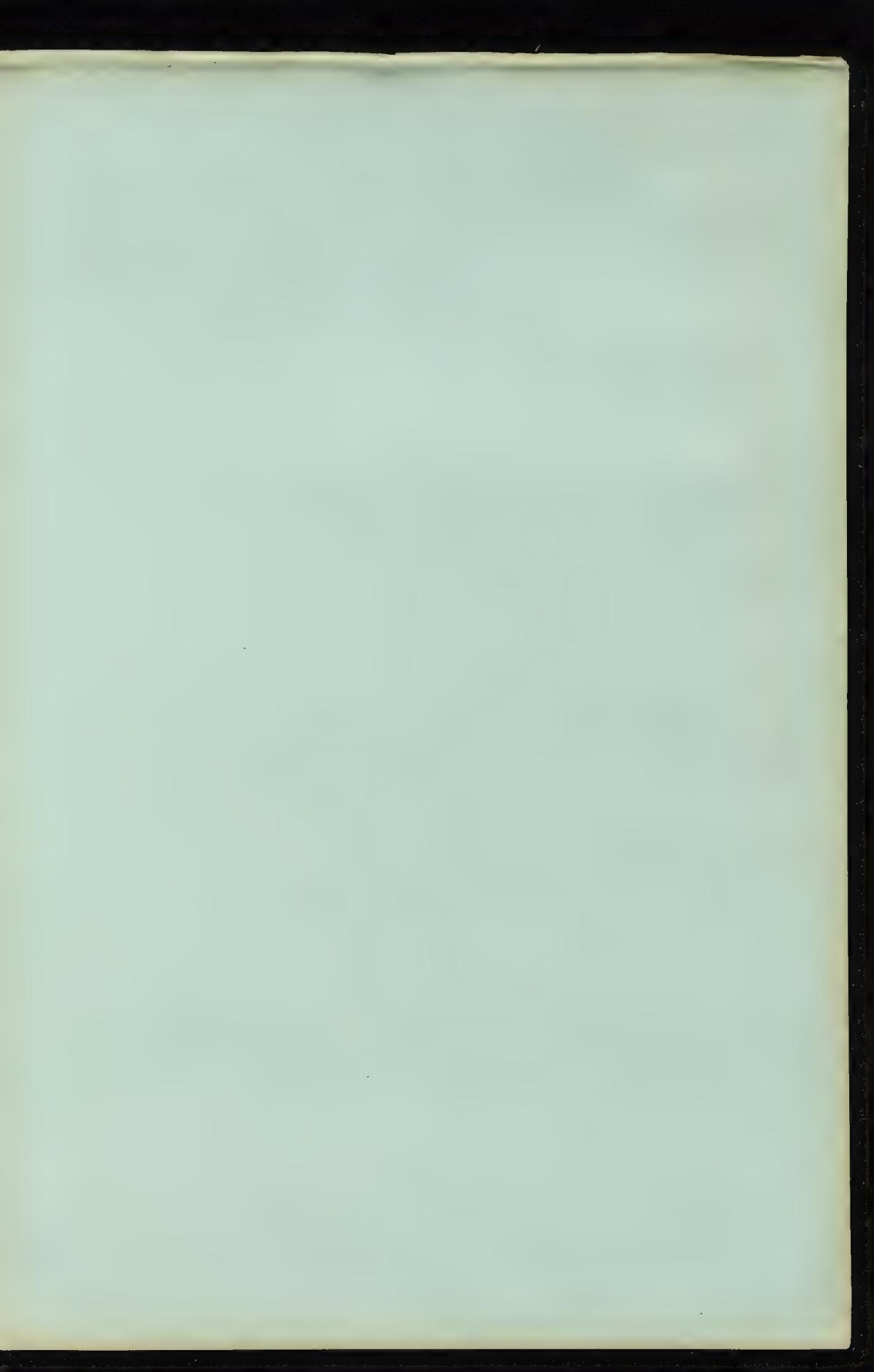
Κύριῳ μαζὶ ἀδελφῷ αἰτίῳ  
εὐ κύριῳ θεῷ πάλεστι χωρεῖ

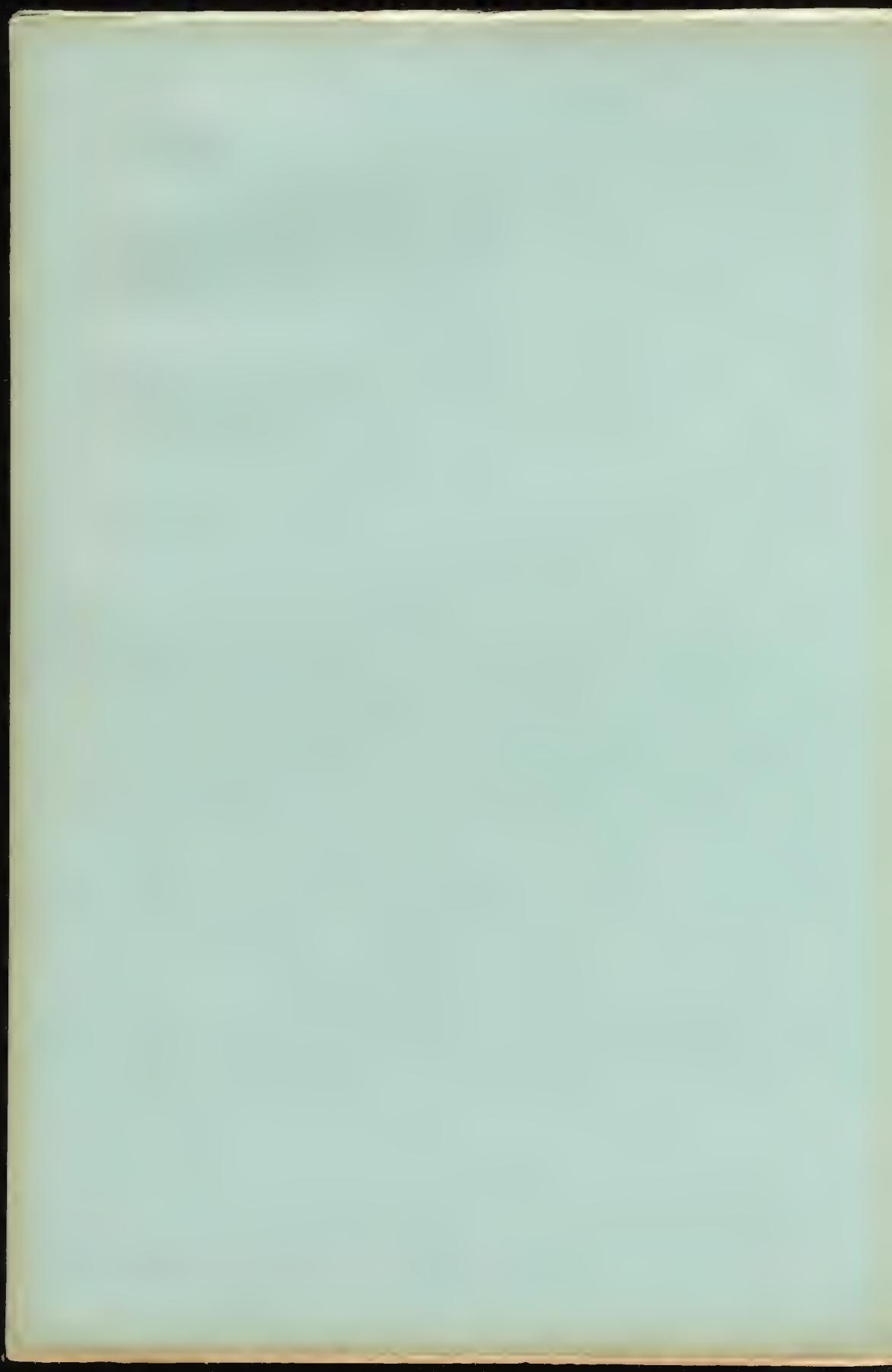


LETTER

(ABOUT A. D. 350)







CHAPTER XV

GREEK DOCUMENTS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

Plate 76. Homer's Iliad in Palimpsest (Sixth Century).

Plate 77. Dioscorides (Early Sixth Century).

Plate 78. Law Deed from Panopolis, A.D. 608.



## CHAPTER XV

### GREEK DOCUMENTS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

**W**E have seen that the Greek language disputed supremacy with the Latin at Rome itself, even at the time when the Latin race, as such, was dominant in the world. When the seat of the empire shifted back to the East, Constantinople succeeding Rome as the capital, the Greek language became not merely dominant as a literary medium, but also as the court language, and the language of everyday life. Naturally, then, the works of this period were practically all written in Greek.

It was not the classical Greek of Homer and Aeschylus and Herodotus, to be sure. It had undergone changes, generation after generation, such as no language escapes. Yet it was only in the niceties of grammatical form of termination and of syntax that it had been modified. In its main structure the Greek of Byzantium was the same language that had been employed in Athens when that city was the literary centre of the world. Moreover, this same slightly modified tongue was to be perpetuated throughout succeeding generations to our own time. The language used in Greece at the present day is the direct lineal descendant of the language of Homer. Latin became veritably a dead language in the Middle Ages. Its descendants, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and the less important Romance dialects are so greatly modified from the parent form, as fully to deserve the name of independent languages.

A knowledge of Italian helps one but little in the interpretation of classical Latin, but with modern Greek the case is different. It is true that it is usually spoken as a distinct language, and that in many ways its forms are changed, Yet the modern Greek finds it a comparatively easy matter to turn to his classical authors. The main structure of his language is obviously one with that of the old Athenians, and we have here illustrated an example of one of the longest lived languages of which we have any knowledge. No language can persist without change. But the Greeks possessed the elements of conservatism in a wonderful measure.

The Byzantine writings, then, are couched in modified Greek. There are no great authors represented in the period, though there is a long list of respectable ones.

For purposes of illustration of the development of the art of writing, we must turn to copies of the classical authors, rather than to originals of this period, since most of the latter have disappeared. It is an unusual fate for any manuscript whatever to be preserved more than a few centuries after it is written. The authors that have come down to us are those that presented sufficient interest for the copyists of the Middle Ages to be reduplicated again and again. Manuscripts of Homer are more abundant than perhaps any other writings, for the obvious reason that Homer enjoyed an enormous popularity from the earliest classical times throughout the Roman period and the Middle Ages. Even Homer, however, did not escape the fate that befell so many other manuscripts, a fate that is illustrated in the facsimile shown in Plate 76. This is what is known as a palimpsest; that is to say, a manuscript that has been erased more or less effectually, in order that another writing might be substituted. In the present case the later writing is in Syriac.

Very generally in the Middle Ages the ancient author was replaced by theological writings, usually the lives of saints. Great numbers of classical manuscripts were thus destroyed, but, fortunately, in many cases, the erasure was but partial, so that it is still possible to decipher the original writing. These theological writings were often esteemed so highly that it was quite a common practice for the owner of a book, when inscribing his name upon it, to record a curse upon the head of any one who should steal the volume, or even alter any part of it, when making a fresh copy.

The making of palimpsests was possible even with papyri, but it was never extensively practised. So long as this material was chiefly used, it was quite a common thing in Egypt to make use of the back of the papyrus roll for purposes of preserving later documents. Such an instance has been seen in connection with the farming accounts (Chapter XIV, Plate 67) on the back of which was written Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. But the material is too fragile to lend itself readily to erasure. In the Roman period, however, papyrus had been largely superseded, outside of Egypt, by parchment as the material for receiving writing and making books, and this much tougher substance could be treated in a way not possible with the more fragile books of the Egyptians.

This manuscript of Homer is on parchment, as also is the *Dioscorides* shown in Plate 77. The law deed from Panopolis, shown in Plate 78, gives proof, however, that papyrus had not been altogether superseded by parchment, even as late as the seventh century.

It will be of interest to compare the last-named papyrus with some of those earlier ones shown in Chapter XIII. A thousand years of practice in writing separates these documents, yet it will appear to the most casual observer that the script in which this seventh century law deed is written is singularly like that of the financial documents from Thebes of the third century B.C., as illustrated on Plates 62 and 63.



PLATE 76. HOMER'S ILIAD IN PALIMPSEST (SIXTH CENTURY A.D.)

British Museum. Additional Manuscript No. 17,210

**P**ALIMPSEST fragments of the *Iliad* of Homer from Books XII-XVI, XVIII-XXIV; the text having been covered at the beginning of the Ninth Century with a Syriac version of a portion of the treatise of Severus of Antioch against Johannes Grammaticus of Caesarea. Vellum, 60 leaves, measuring 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with 33 lines in a full page.

"The MS. formerly belonged to the Syrian Convent of St. Mary Deipara, in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt, and it has been plausibly conjectured that it was one of the large number of volumes conveyed thither by Moses of Nisibis in the year 932."—*Paleographical Society*.

The writing is in rather large uncials, the words not being separated. The first letter on each page is larger than the others. Breathings and accents are sparingly used, and are probably by a later hand. No punctuation is visible. There is a tendency to heavy formation in certain of the letters, as in ε, ο, ρ, Δ, Τ.

This copy of Homer originally contained, or rather accounted for, 3,873 lines out of a known total of 3,895, and comprised at least three books. Severus, who was a leader of the Monophysites, was born at Sopopolis, some time in the fifth century, and he died in about the year 538 A.D. According to Anastasius Sinaitica (*Hodegus*, ed. Gretser, Ingolstadt, 1606, 410), Severus composed his work while in exile at Alexandria, which must have been subsequent to the Council of Constantinople in 518 A.D. Details of his writings can be found in Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, London, 1884, 3 vols.

The plate represents a portion of Book XIII; namely, lines 133-165. The four lines not entirely superimposed by the Syriac script are readily decipherable and in the modern text appear as follows:

"Ηεροὶ δὲ βαρύποντα, θυεῖσι τρυφέοις  
Τρῶαις καὶ Αἴσῃσι καὶ Δέρβεσσι τρύπαις,  
Ιππομετέρης ὀφειλόμενος τρύπαιον Ἀχαιοῖ.  
Εἰδε μάλα περιγράψας στρατὸν αριστωρεῖς,

A free translation of the whole passage reads:

In serried ranks, their pluméd helmets touching; with spears aloft, shaking in their eager hands, impatiently they stood. Then the Trojans rushed to the attack, led by the fiery Hector. As a stone displaced from its mountain height by the resistless torrent crashes its way in mighty bounds to the plain below, making the forest resound, so Hector momentarily threatened the Greeks, as though he would cut a gory path through Grecian tents and ships, even to the sea. But as he encountered in close array the firm phalanx, he paused; the sons of Greece opposed his slaughtering onset, striking at him with their swords and two-edged spears, so that the mighty chief drew back from the fierce assault, shouting aloud to the Trojans:

"Ye Trojans and Lycians, and skilled-in-fighting Dardanians, stand firm. Not long will the sons of Greece oppose my might, though drawn up in massed array, solid as a tower. Before my spear they shall surely retire, if true it is that Juno's husband, the thunder-god, aids my arms this day."

Thus speaking, he stouthearted the hearts of all. Then Deiphobus, Priam's son, holding his shield now on one side, now on another, advanced, with quick, light steps, behind its guard. Meriones aimed at the chief, his shining spear striking full upon the bull's-hided shield; yet did it not pierce, but broke at the neck. Then Deiphobus thrust out his shield before him, in fear of the invincible Meriones' spear; but that hero retired in the phalanx of his friends, vexed for the loss of victory and for his broken spear.

The story of the Nisibian Library is told in Ali Macrizi's work on Egypt (see Macrizi's *Geschichte der Copten*, p. 25), who says that "In the year 313 (A.D. 925) the Vezir Ali Isa Ibn al-Jarrah came to Egypt; and he searched into the condition of the country, and imposed the payment of a tribute upon the bishops and monks and infirm Christians, and they paid it. Some of them, therefore, went to Bagdad and petitioned Ali-Muctadir-Billah. He accordingly wrote to Egypt that tribute should not be taken from the bishops, the monks and the infirm."

Moses was one of those who went to Bagdad, whence he brought back a large number of volumes. Many of these are now in the British Museum, and in some of the record of their acquisition and donation is preserved, apparently in the hand of Moses himself (see W. Cureton's *Festal Letters*, London, 1848, p. xxiv). The MSS. were found at Nitria by the Duke of Northumberland in the year 1828.

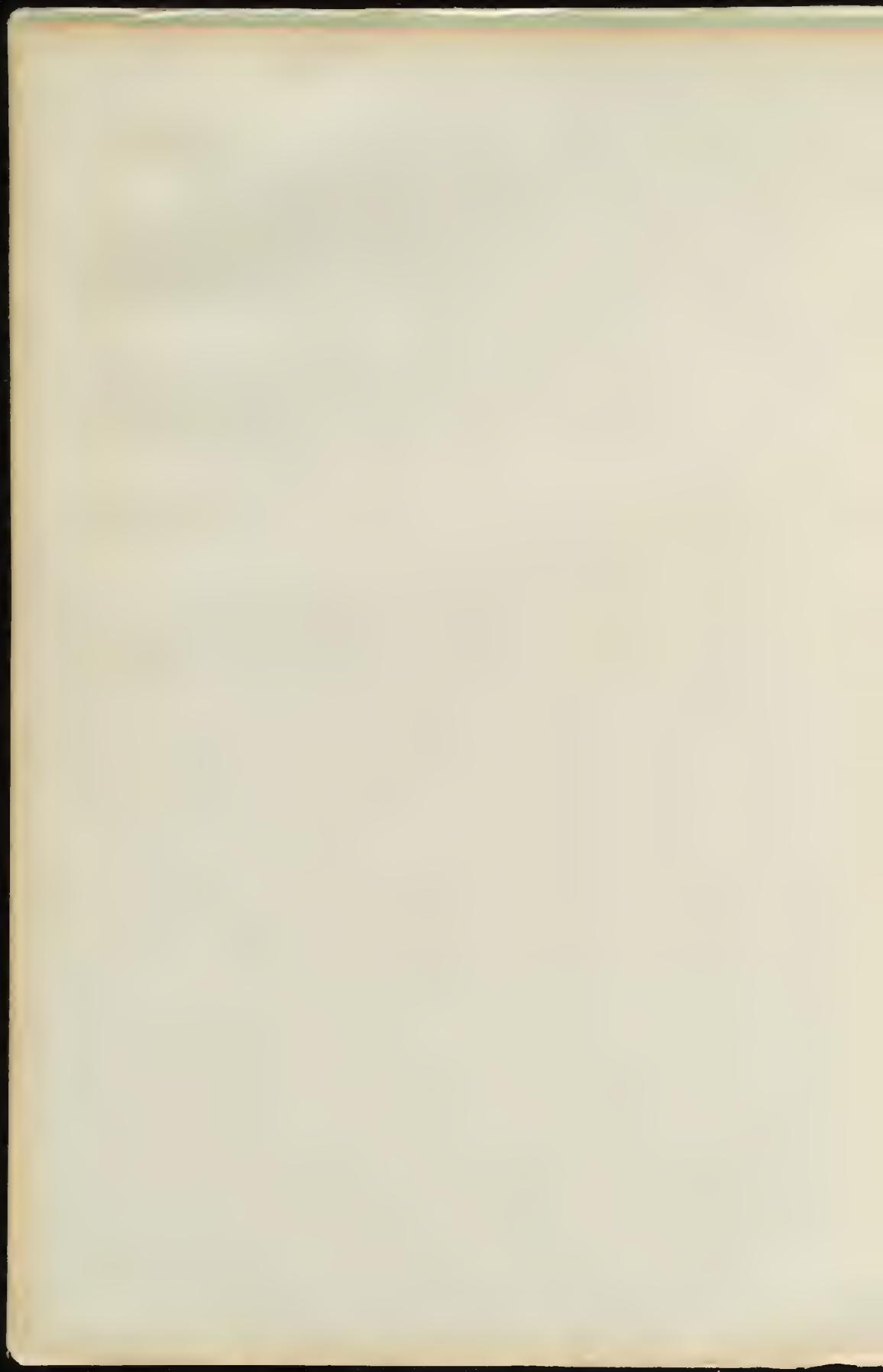
Mr. Cureton has supplied the whole history of the fragment. On the second page of the last leaf but one is written in Syriac:

"This book belongs to Daniel, a secular presbyter (externus) and travelling (visiting) presbyter of the province of Amida, who gave diligence and procured it for the benefit of himself and of those that may approach it, who possess the same object of love of divine instruction, and desire to profit their lives by the truth which is in it. But the poor Simeon, a poor presbyter and recluse, who is in the holy convent of my Lord Simeon of Cartamin (Mesopotamia), transcribed it. May any one, therefore, who asks for it, that he may read in it, or write from it, for the sake of the love of God, pray for him who gave diligence and acquired it, and for the scribe, that they may find mercy in the day of judgment, like the thief who was on the right hand (of the Cross), through the prayers of all the saints, and more particularly of the holy and glorious and perpetual Virgin, the Mother of God, Mary. Amen and Amen and Amen."

On the first page of the last leaf there is another notice much to the same effect, citing Daniel as Lord Bishop of the province of Orrhoa (Edessa) and cursing any one who stole or hid or removed the book, or who erased the memorial. Nevertheless, Daniel himself bequeathed it to the Convent of Silas (at Batnan, Mesopotamia), as to which there is another note and an additional curse.

The work of Severus, as superimposed, was most probably written between A.D. 769-825.

For other manuscripts of Homer, see Plates 65b, 68, 73, and 83a.





HOMER'S ILIAD IN PALIMPSEST  
(6th CENTURY)

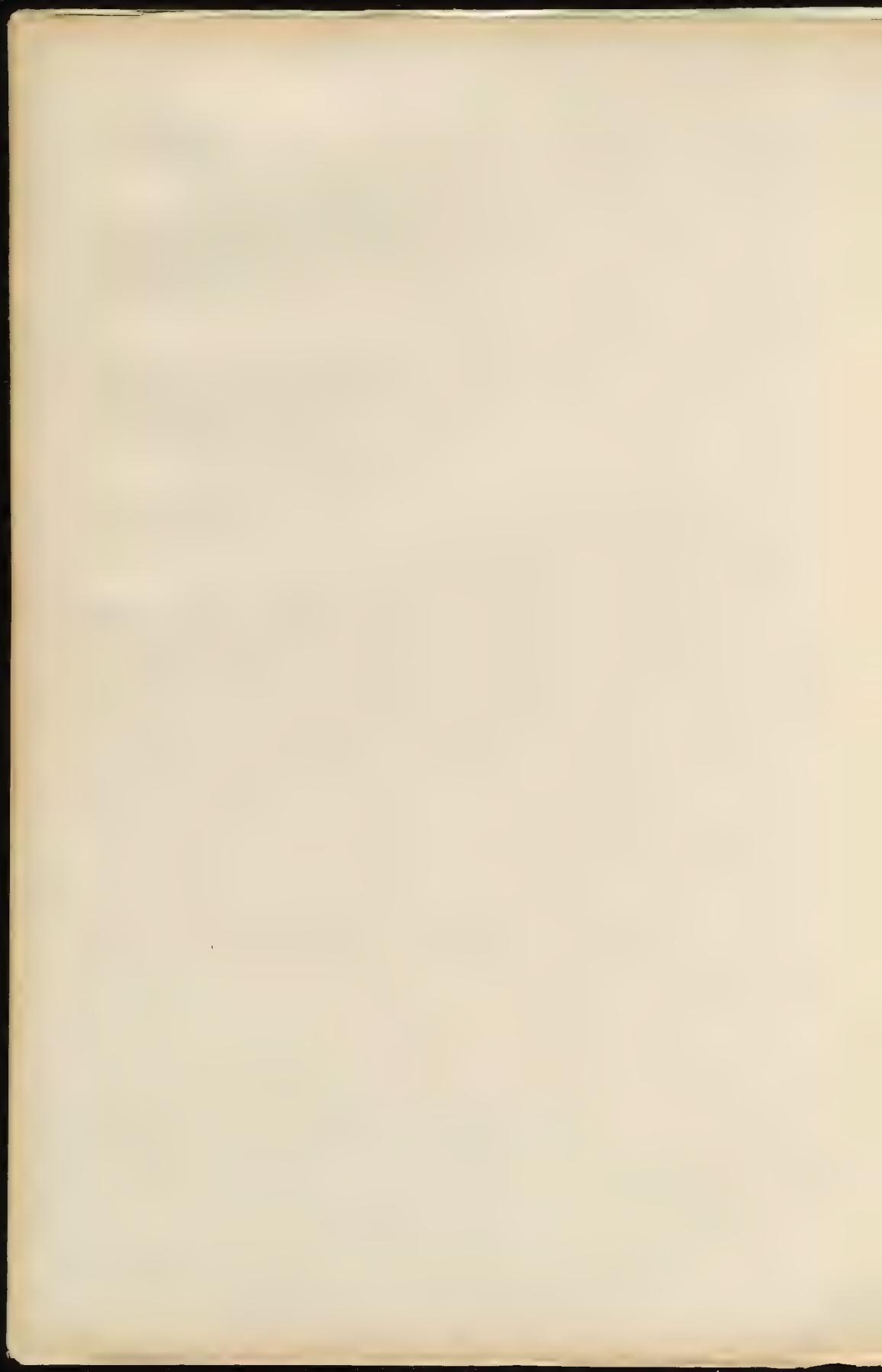


PLATE 77. DIOSCORIDES (EARLY SIXTH CENTURY A.D.)

Vienna Hofbibliothek, Cod. Graec. 5

THE treatise on plants and roots, and their medicinal properties, by the physician Pedanius Dioscorides, illustrated with colored drawings, followed by the paraphrase in prose by Eutencius of the Theriaca and Alexipharmacæ of Nicander, and of the Halieutica of Oppian. Vellum : 491 leaves, measuring 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 12 inches. *Paleographical Society.*

This manuscript was seen in Constantinople previous to the year 1562 by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, the Imperial Ambassador, and was probably bought by the Emperor Maximilian II. It appears to have been written in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. for Julianæ Anicia, daughter of Flavius Anicius Olybrius, Emperor of the West, in the year 472. Olybrius reigned in this year from July 11 to October 23, and had married, about 464 A.D., Placidia, daughter of the Emperor Valentinian III, this princess being the mother of Julianæ, who would therefore have been between twenty-seven and thirty-five years old at the beginning of the sixth century. The portrait of a royal lady on one of the pages of the first volume, inscribed with the name *Iovanna*, has with good reason been assumed to be that of the said Julianæ.

The writing is in uncials, the words not separated. Capital letters begin each article, and small letters are used at the end of a line to complete a word, as can be seen on lines 3 and 8 of the plate.

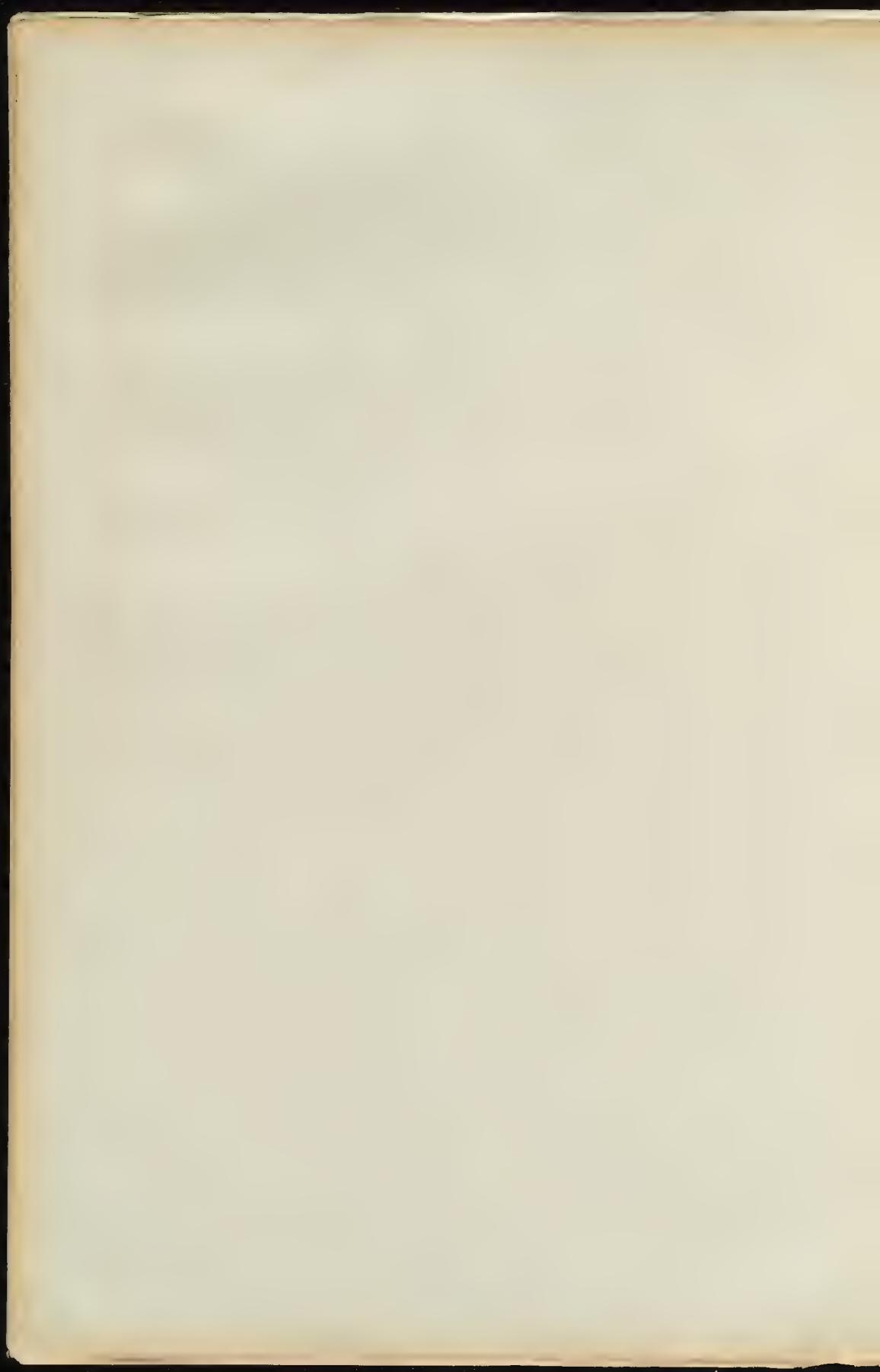
The Greek heading and opening lines are :

κεν ταῖριν το μέτην κονταίρον τὸ μέγ[ε]τον  
οι δὲ παρεμπολεοντος οι δὲ λιμηνον οι δὲ μαρων[τ]  
οι δὲ πλατερονος οι δὲ χι πονας οι δὲ λιμηνοτ.

Another copy of this treatise is preserved in the same library, and is illustrated in Portfolio III, Plate 138, of this work.

Pedanius Dioscorides, a native of Cæcilia, was, according to some, the physician of Antony and Cleopatra; others claim that he lived in the time of Nero.

A soldier first, he forsook his military career to pursue the study of medicine, and wrote his treatise upon medicinal plants. This was first printed in France in 1598.



ΟΙΑΣ ΤΑΡΚΗΝΙΑΧΟΥΣΙΕΣ ΟΙΑΣ ΛΕΠΤΗΝΙΟΙ ΟΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΩΝΙΔΙ  
ΟΙΑΣ ΤΡΑΝΣΟΡΦΩΝΙΑΣ ΟΙΑΣ ΧΩΡΟΦΙΛΗΣ ΟΙΑΣ ΛΙΚΗΝΙΟΤΗΣ  
ΤΡΕΦΗΤΡΑΛΙΜΑΝΙΑΚΑΙΟΥΣ ΡΟΚΙΑΤΟΣΦΕΡΡΩΣ ΟΙΑΣ ΟΙΑΣ  
ΟΙΑΣ ΘΩΑΤΕΡΡΑΣ

DIOSCORIDES

(EARLY 6th CENTURY)

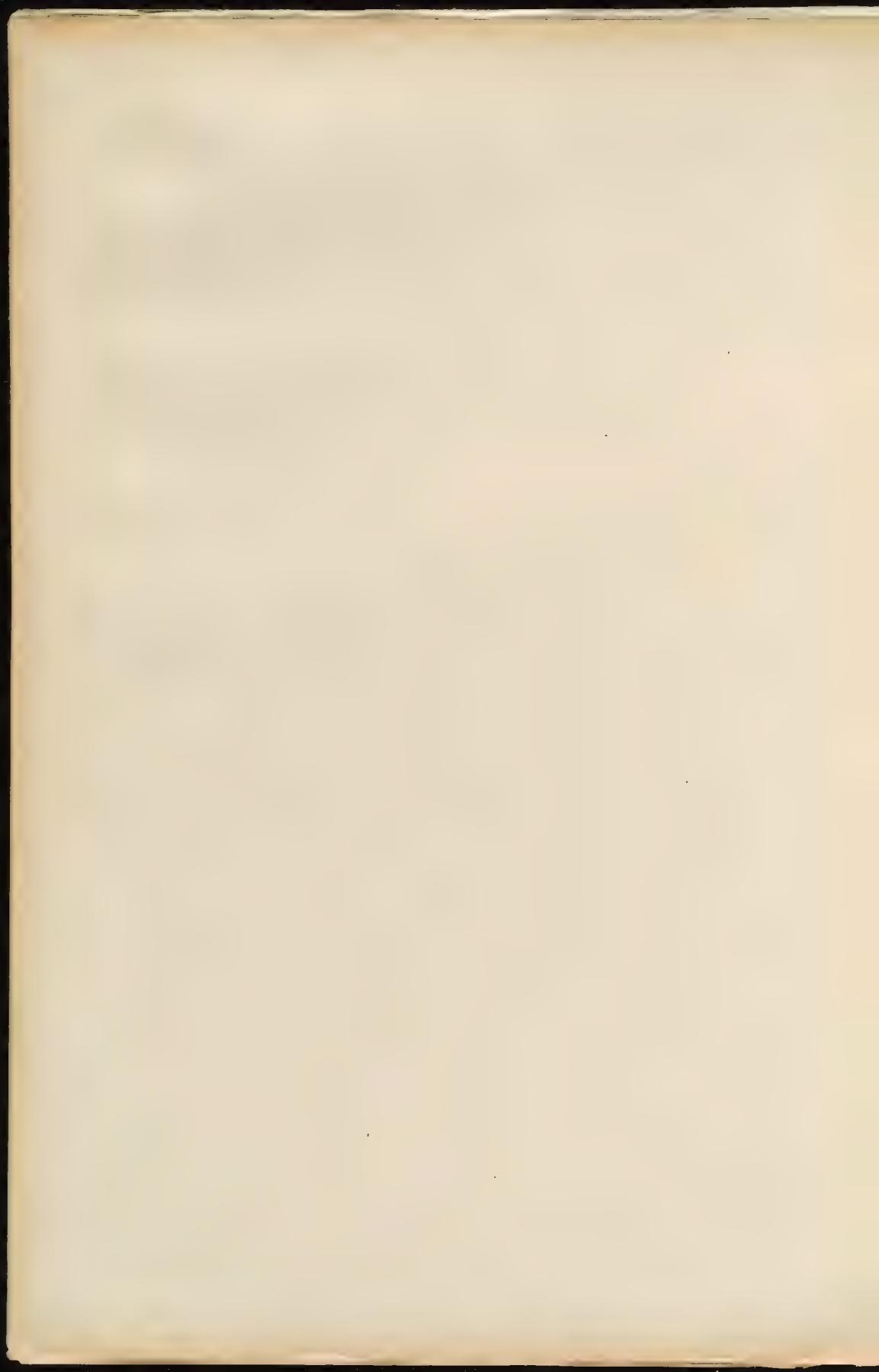


PLATE 78. LAW DEED FROM PANOPOLIS,  
608 A.D.

Collection of M. Testa.

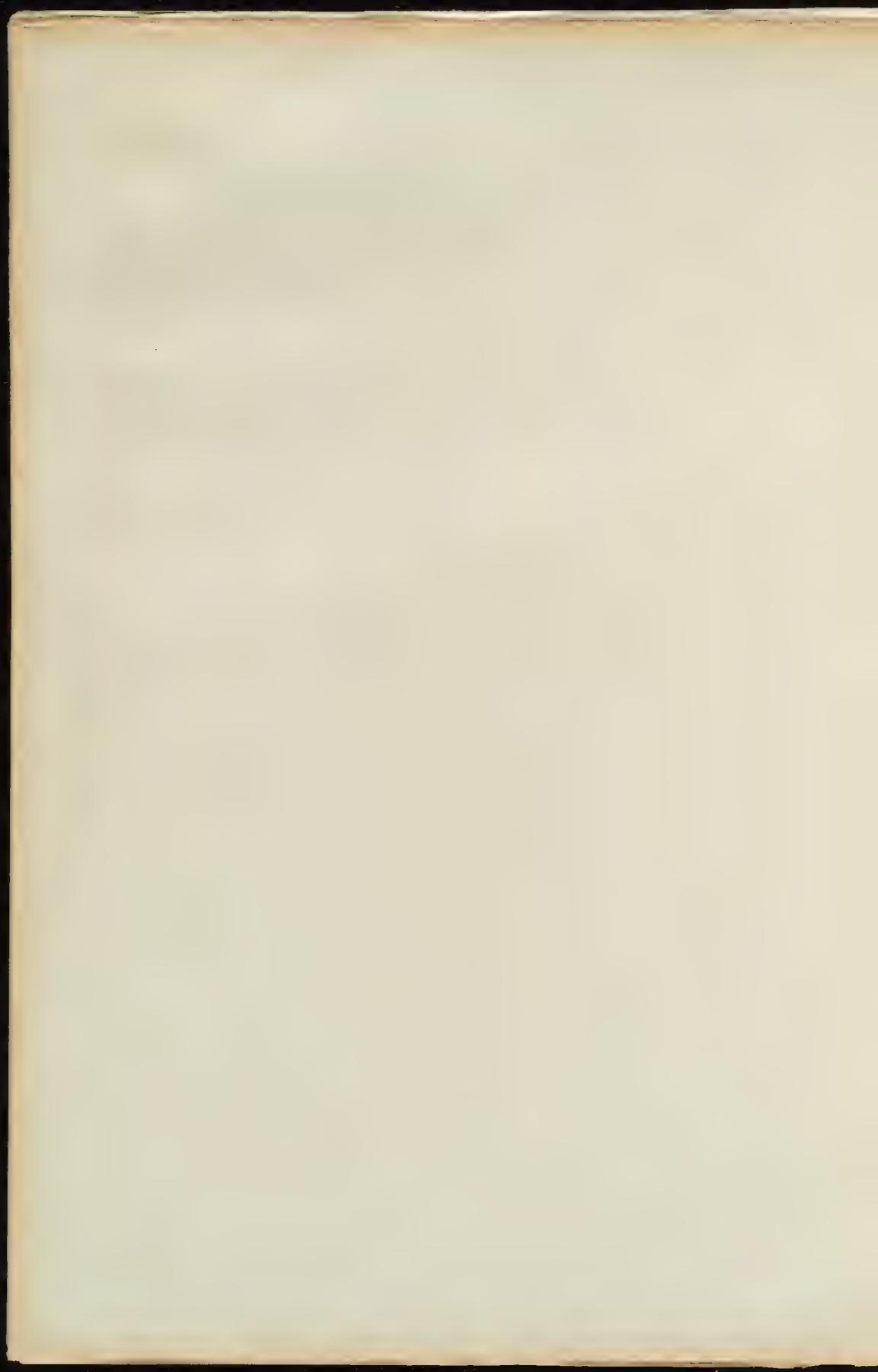
"**D**EED whereby Aurelia Johanna, daughter of (Aurelius) Kallinicus and Eugenia, of Panopolis in the Thebaid of Egypt, pledges to her sister, Aurelia Maria, her third part of a house in the street of Hagia Ekklesia Megale, in Panopolis (of which Aurelia Maria already held the other parts), in consideration of a loan of two-thirds of a gold solidus of 15½ carats of Alexandrian weight. Written on the 3rd of Athyr, in the 5th year of Flavius Phocas = 30th October, A.D. 608. On papyrus measuring 14½ by 3½ inches.

" The document is one of three lately discovered papyri now the property of M. Testa, attached to the German Embassy at Constantinople. They evidently once formed part of the family archives of Aurelius Pachynius, a dealer in purple dye, of which seven papyri formerly recovered are preserved at Paris and Berlin, and are published in 'Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits,' etc.; tome XVIII, Paris, 1858, pp. 238-260. Among the latter are records of transactions of the same family of Aurelius Kallinicus, including Aurelius Arsenius, the brother of the two sisters named in the present document, who shared with them the property derived from their parents. The three newly discovered papyri have been published in *Wiener Studien*, VII, 1885, p. 122, by Dr. Karl Wessely, of Vienna."—*Paleographical Society*.

The deed is written in cursive letters of mixed uncial and minuscule forms, without separation of words. Final syllables and formal terms or titles are occasionally abbreviated. The plate represents the end of the document, and shows a kind of primitive dagger mark, and a footnote which reads:

† αυτηλαι λοιπα η προγεγραμμένη  
στοιχ [είναι] τακτικά ως ταραχήτα [γραφά]  
περι αυτής φλαγμός θεωδότης  
αποιθ από πιστός !

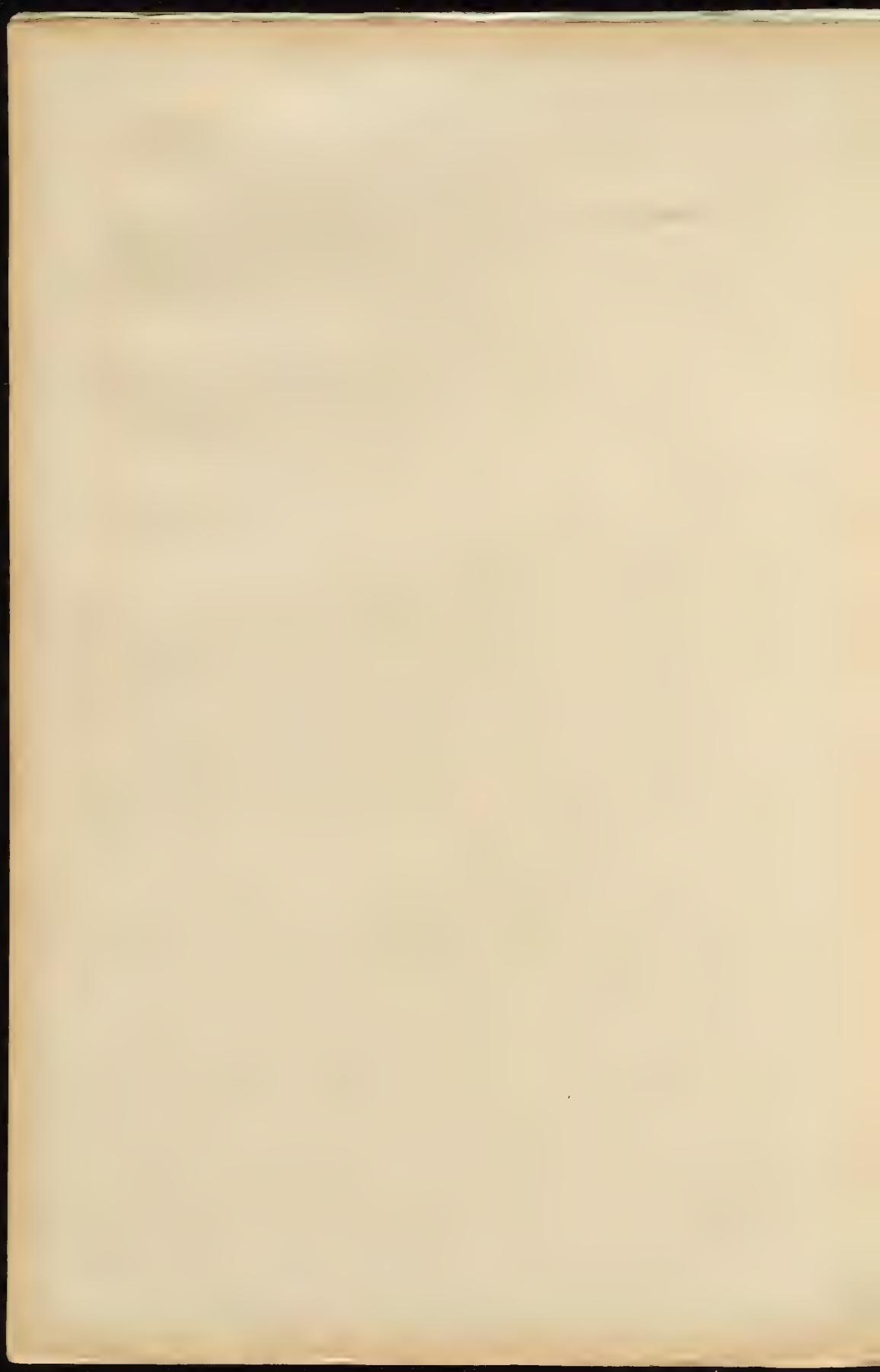
† εγείρεται δεματ δαι συμβάλλεις φασεν ! †

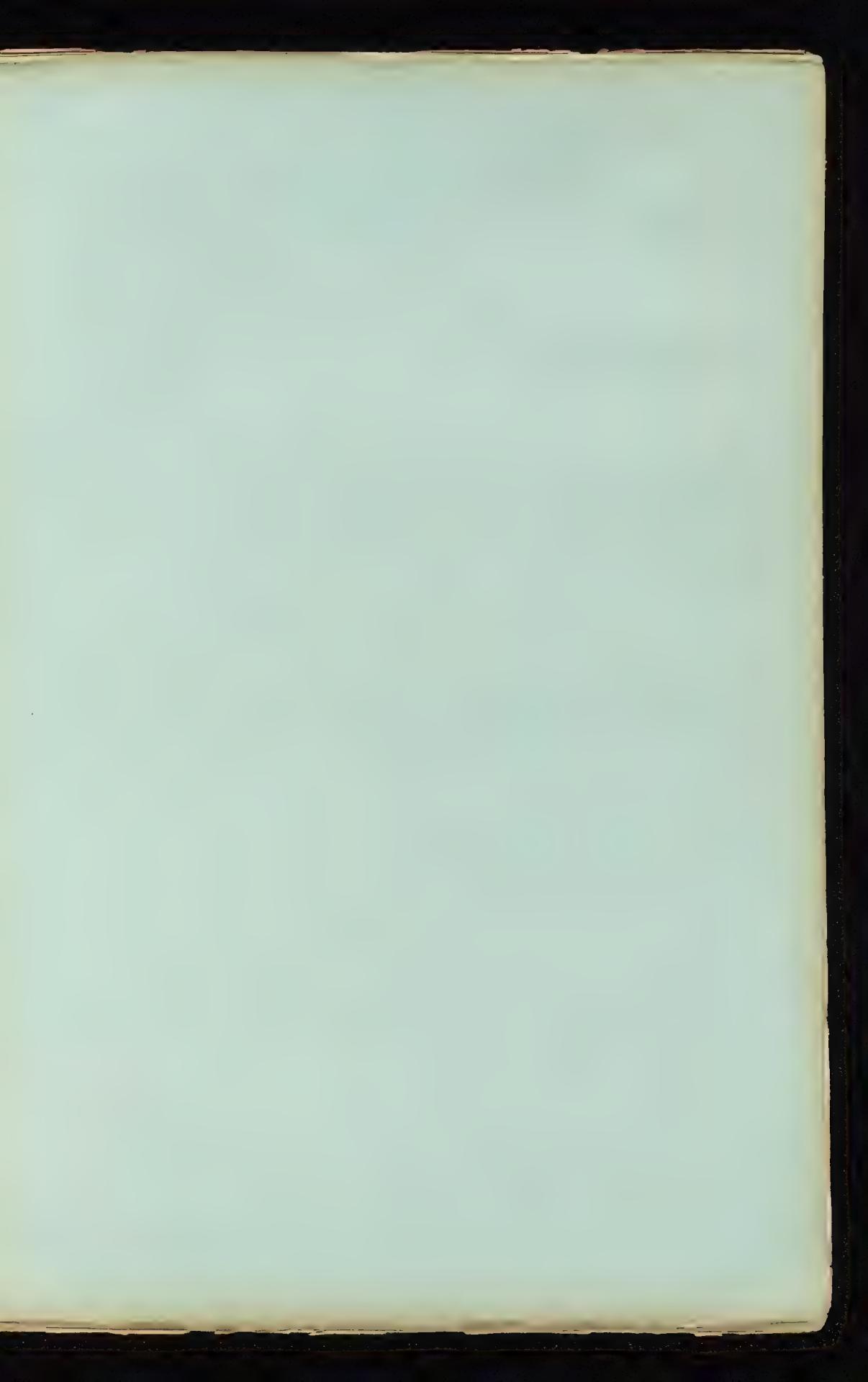


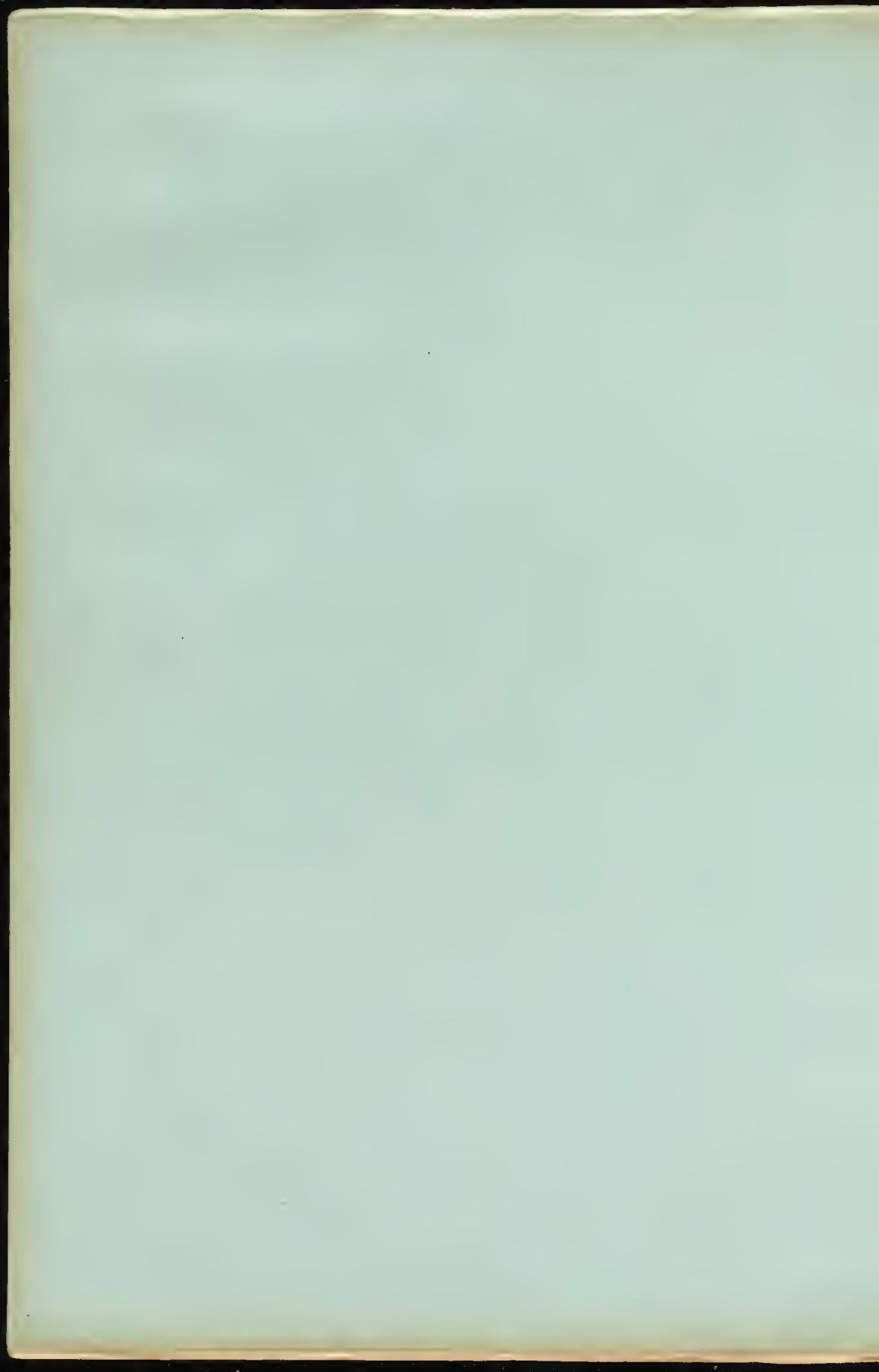


LAW DEED FROM PANOPOLIS

A.D. 608







CHAPTER XVI

GREEK WRITING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

- Plate 79. S. Chrysostom on Genesis, A.D. 976.  
Plate 80. Demosthenes, Tenth Century.  
Plate 81 81a. Aristophanes, Eleventh Century.  
Plate 82. Suidas, A.D. 1402.  
Plate 83. Polybius, A.D. 1416.  
Plate 83a. Homer's Iliad, A.D. 1431.



## CHAPTER XVI

### GREEK & WRITING & IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**W**E are accustomed to speak of the thousand years which followed the fall of Rome as Dark Ages, and to think of this period as a time when literature and learning were but little cultivated. In a certain sense this estimate is just, but it is easily possible to exaggerate the importance of a generalization, and in this case something less than justice has been done to the scholarship of an epoch which at worst was never altogether illiterate. The reason for this is doubtless that our estimate is made from the Western standpoint.

The Byzantine Empire, overthrown by the Mohammedans in the fifteenth century, left no direct successor, and the historians of Europe have rarely done full justice to the culture that had its seat in Constantinople during those centuries that we think of as constituting the Dark Ages.

In point of fact, literature flourished abundantly in the Eastern Empire throughout this period; and if few great works were produced, at least there was a constant company of readers who could appreciate the great masters of old, and who filled their libraries with them, and no doubt read them at least as eagerly as the classics are read in our own day.

As a witness to the abundance of literature in this period, it may be noted that there are at present in existence in the various libraries and collections of Europe at least a thousand dated manuscripts written in Greek prior to the fifteenth century. The major part of these are not earlier than the ninth century, as very few, indeed, of the older manuscripts bear any date.

There is then a wealth of material illustrating the development of the Greek script in the Middle Ages.

These facsimiles show the very great change in the form of the Greek characters through the development of the cursive script, which became perfected about the tenth century and which afterwards degenerated considerably. When printing was invented the later forms of the Greek minuscule (that is to say, those that were then current) were quite naturally adopted for the printed language, but subsequently reversion was made to the forms of the letters employed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and these are the forms still employed.

In comparing manuscripts shown in the present chapter with those that have just been presented, the observer will be struck at once with the marked difference in general aspect. We have noted that there was a close resemblance between the earliest Greek manuscripts from Egypt and a seventh century document from Panopolis. But the St. Chrysostom of Plate 79 shows a wide divergence from these earlier writings of which it is the lineal descendant.

It would appear that a somewhat sudden transformation was effected in the character employed in writing Greek in the eighth and ninth centuries. Prior to that time, as we have seen illustrated over and over, the uniform script was in what is termed an *uncial* character; that is to say, all the letters were practically of one size, corresponding rather closely to our capitals. But in the ninth century there suddenly appears this modified script, which, because of the size of the letters, is called *minuscule*, and which seems almost immediately to take full possession of the field.

This character has obvious advantages both in the matter of compactness and of facility of production. It is a modified form of cursive writing, yet it becomes the

uniform book text as well, although in certain cases, and notably in transcribing the Scriptures, the old *uncial* character was still retained.

Sir Edmund Thomson has called attention to the fact that certain books all through the ages are generally written in a more conservative script. Thus Homer among the Greeks, and Virgil among the Romans, to a certain extent, occupied the same position that the Bible holds throughout modern Christendom, and the palaeographer finds that each of these works is usually transcribed in a character that was generally current in an early generation, as if the pious writer had deemed it a sacrilege to apply the modern method to the ancient work. Quite recently one has seen an illustration of an allied spirit in the riots which the Greek students at Athens stirred up as a protest against the translation of the Bible into the modern Greek language. It was held that as the earliest existent copies of the Bible are in the ancient Greek language, and hence fairly accessible to modern Greeks, it was of the nature of profanation to present the sacred words to them in an altered form.

Precisely this spirit, it would seem, actuated the transcribers of the Scriptures in the West from generation to generation. But for secular use the minuscule writing, as has been said, made its way quickly into universal favor, and after the tenth century it is an exception to find any Greek document in the old *uncial*. We present here specimens of some of the most familiar and popular of Greek authors—Demosthenes, Aristophanes, Suidas, Polybius and Homer—in the new or modern character.

To any one familiar with Greek texts as printed nowadays, it will be obvious that this Middle-Age minuscule script was the model on which the modern types were formed. In point of fact, the Greek character now employed in all printed books is closely based upon the minuscule of the tenth century.

Our plates illustrate the change that the minuscule underwent in the next few centuries after its development. There is a marked contrast, for example, between the St. Chrysostom of Plate 79, which was written in the tenth century, and the Suidas, Polybius, and Homer of the fifteenth century. The resemblances, to be sure, are much more marked than the differences; still the latter are sufficiently obvious.

When printing came into vogue it was quite natural that the Greek script then current should have been used as a model for type. It is rather curious that this manner of printing Greek, once thoroughly established, should not have been retained permanently, and, in fact, it was retained until about a century ago, when, through some inexplicable change of taste, a reversion was made to the earlier and much clearer character of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It is curious to reflect that no Greek author of the classical age would be able to read a page of his own writings could he see them in their modern form, in which alone they are familiar to the classical student of to-day.

The modern Greek prides himself on the similarity of his language to the Greek of classical times, but in this matter of a script he has wisely retained the Middle-Age model rather than revert to the much less facile method of antiquity.

PLATE 79. S. CHRYSOSTOM ON GENESIS, A.D. 976

Bodleian Library. Laud Manuscript, Greek, 75

**T**HE Homilies of S. Chrysostom on Genesis, in Greek. Vellum; 365 leaves, measuring 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches, in double columns of 40 lines. Dated September A.M. 6,485, which is equivalent to 976 A.D.—*Paleographical Society.*

Written in set minuscules. On the page reproduced in the plate the first column is in a more cursive style in a different hand; this is the only instance of such a variation in the manuscript. The position of the writing in relation to the ruled lines varies greatly, being found above, below, and across them. The titles are in uncials and have streaks of yellow paint under the lines. The breathings and accents are in full use, the breathings rectangular. Punctuation: full-point in various positions; quotations are marked with ticks or arrow-heads in the margin. The initial letters of the homilies are large and ornamental, composed of floreated, interlaced, arabesque and zigzag patterns, brightly colored in red, green, yellow, brown and blue; and the signatures of the later quires, beginning with  $\alpha\delta$ , are enclosed in circular ornamental designs.

The plate represents a portion of Homily XLVII, and commences:

τὴν παῦλον καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν  
αἰτήσεις οὐ γάρ καὶ αἰγανομένη

continuing down to

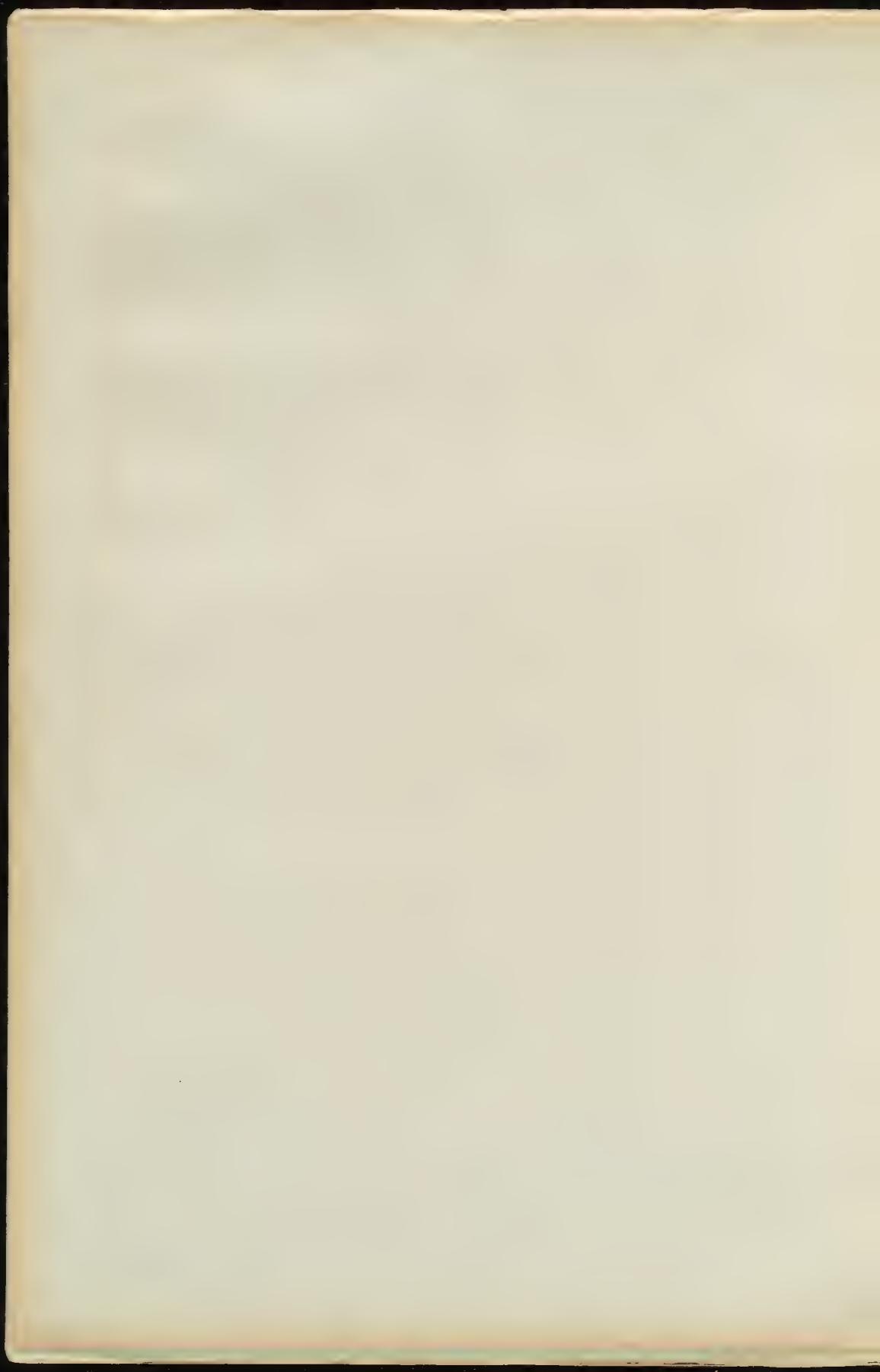
εἴναι μύρα δὲ ὅγκος τοι τοι

The only comprehensive English collection of the writings of S. Chrysostom is that of the Rev. W. R. W. Stephen, in Dr. Schaff's *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*: New York, 1889, 8vo.

S. John Chrysostom (Greek, *χρυσότρωπος*, "golden-mouthed") won this appellation by the splendor of his eloquence. He was born at Antioch, A.D. 347. Under the guidance of his mother, Anthusa, a pious woman, entirely devoted to her son, he grew up earnest, gentle and serious.

Having studied rhetoric under the famous Libanius, Chrysostom followed the calling of an advocate with much success, but, drawn to a religious life, he placed himself under the instruction of Bishop Meletius by whom he was baptized when twenty-three years of age. Then came a period of ascetic life in the mountains, but, weakened by austerities and privations, he was forced to return to Antioch in 380; here he was ordained deacon by Meletius, and as presbyter by Flavianus in 386. His eloquence and earnestness were the means of his elevation to the archiepiscopate in 398. The faithful performance of his duties excited the enmity of the Patriarch Theophilus and the Empress Eudoxa, whom he had censured for ambition and avarice. At their instigation, Chrysostom was deposed and banished, without a hearing, in 403; and in his retirement he wrote the seventeen moral essays to Olympias, to whom he also addressed a treatise on the proposition, "Love can hurt the man who will not hurt himself." He left numerous works, consisting of homilies on the Scriptures and commentaries on the whole Bible, portions of which have perished.

The prayer attributed to S. Chrysostom, and now used in the English Church, occurs in the liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, which bears the name of Chrysostom. In the most ancient manuscripts, however, it is found in the liturgy of Basil; but whether the prayer be as old as either Basil or Chrysostom remains a matter of doubt.





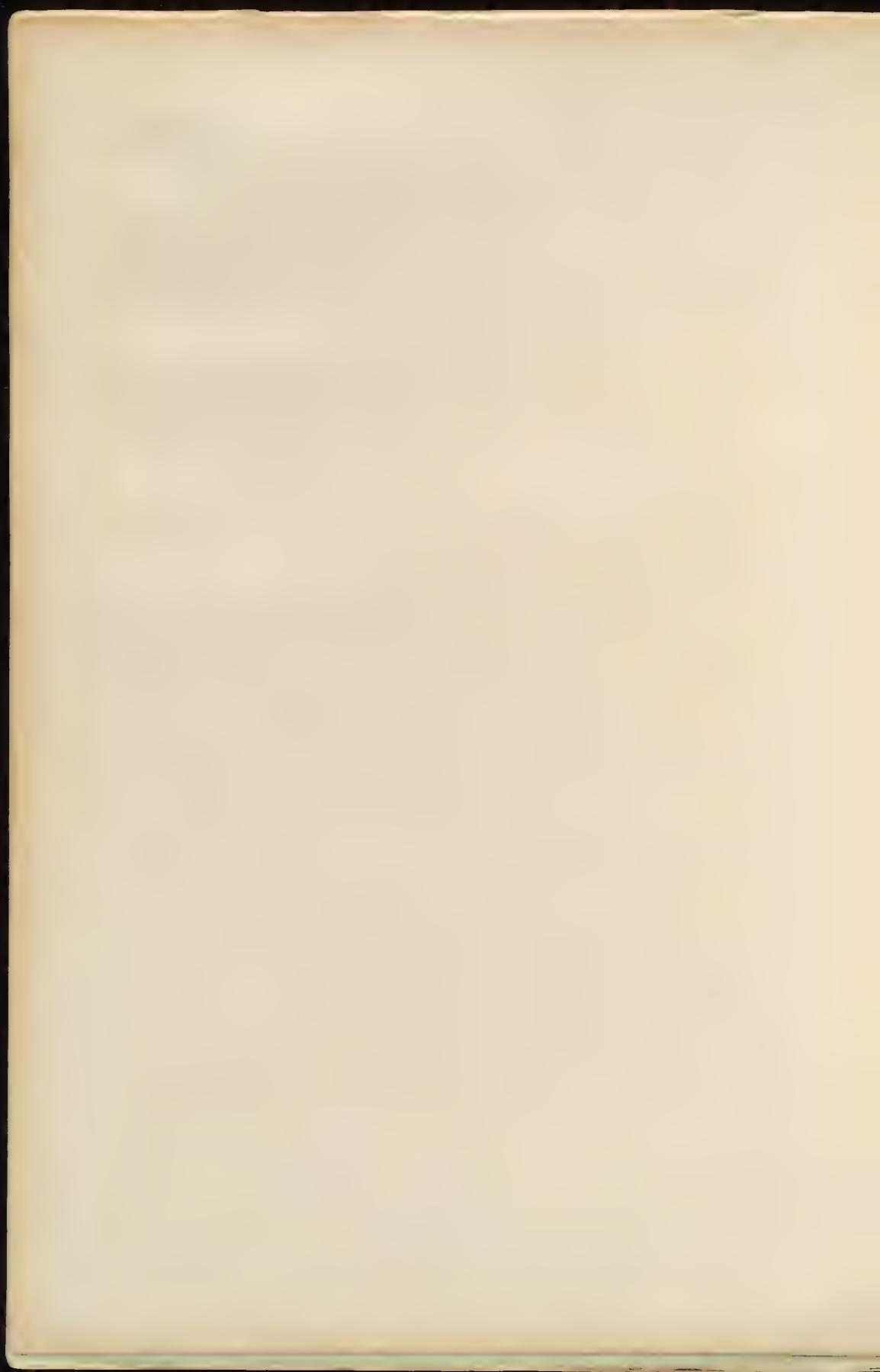


PLATE 80. DEMOSTHENES. TENTH CENTURY A.D.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscript, Grec. 2,934

**T**HE *Orations* of Demosthenes. Vellum; 534 leaves, measuring 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 10 inches, in double columns of 32 lines. Written in the tenth century.

The manuscript (Codex 2) formerly belonged to Cardinal Niccolo Ridolfi, on whose death, in 1550, it passed to his relative, Pierre Strozzi, Marshal of France, from whom it was inherited by Queen Catherine de Medici. It was added to the Royal Library by Henry IV, for the present binding bearing his arms and being dated 1604. For a critical description, see J. T. Voemel, *Notitia Codicium Demosthenicorum II*, Frankfurt, 1834, p. 16.

The minuscules stand above the ruled point lines. Paragraphs begin with enlarged marginal letters, generally red. Throughout the volume contractions are rarely used; none are indicated on the plate shown.

Breathings are rectangular, accents short and fine; both middle and high points are used. A space before a new sentence appears in line 3. The letters are delicately formed with a thin stroke, and are very square, with a disposition to larger forms at end of lines (see column 2, line 14 and line 20).

The plate has been described for the Paleographical Society by the help of M. Henri Omont, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

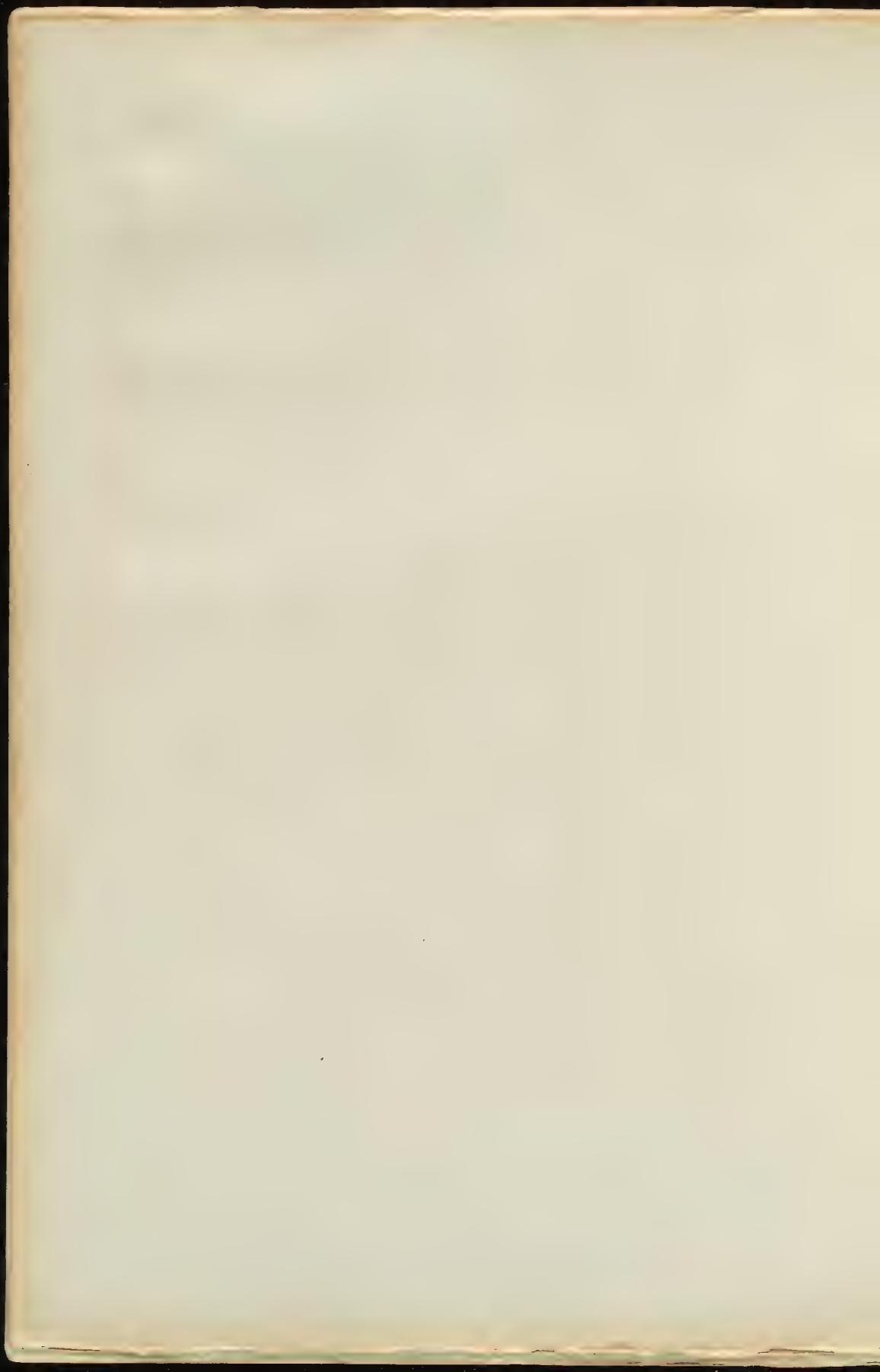
The opening lines are:

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ἈΤΑΞΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΠΤΙΝΗΝ  
Ἄνδρες δεσποταὶ πάλαι πει τί<sup>τη</sup>  
νέκο του τούμπαν στραβωτεῖ τῆς  
πόλει λελοτθεῖ τον νομον εἴται

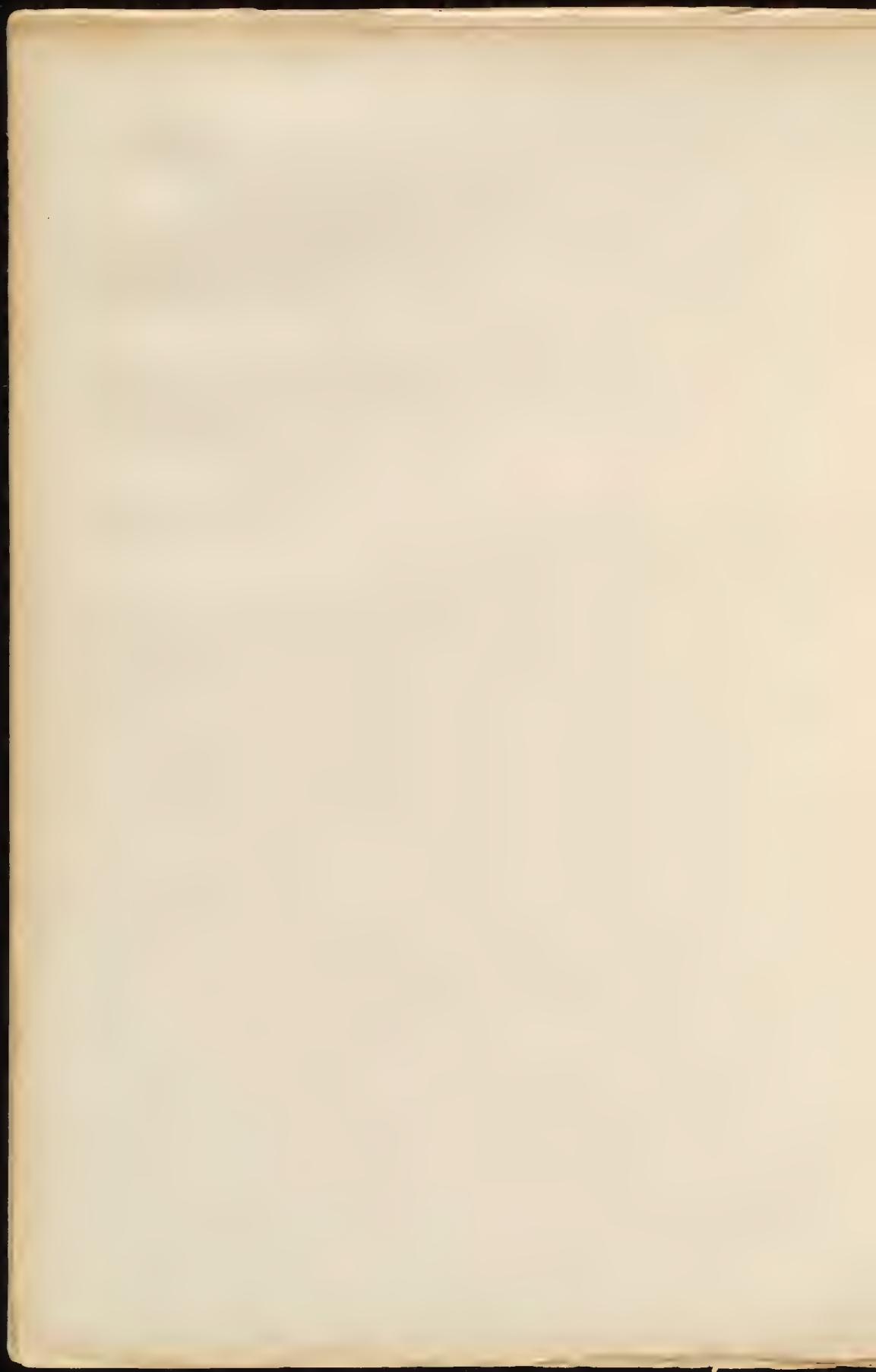
And the closing words read:

Δλλα δὲ οὐ τὸν εἰαναν.

Demosthenes was born in 384 B.C. His father was an Athenian, and his mother, Cleobule, was the daughter of Gylon, a citizen who had been concerned in securing the protection of the Bosporus kings for the Athenian colony of Nymphaeon in the Crimea. In this connection, the opponents of Demosthenes in later times taunted him with a "traitorous or barbarian ancestry." His father left him well-off. He studied forensic eloquence and law under Isaeus, and became a professional writer of pleas for the law courts, sometimes speaking himself. Some of his orations are: The speech for Phormio, belonging to the same year as the plea for Megalopolis; the speech for Bectus, *Concerning the Name*; the speech against Pantaletus, which comes between the speech *On the Peace* and the second *Philippic*. His political activity began about 355 B.C., and his principal political speeches are (at the age of twenty-nine): Oration *Against Androtion* (355 B.C.); *Against Leptines*, as shown in the plate; *On the Navy Boards* (354 B.C.); *For the Megalopolitans* (352 B.C.); *Against Timourates* (352 B.C.); *Against Aristocrates* (362 B.C.). The first *Philippic* of Demosthenes was spoken in 349 B.C.; the third (the latest) in 341 B.C. Between these he delivered eight political orations, of which seven are directly concerned with Philip. But his speech on the *Affairs of the Chersonese*, and the third *Philippic* were his crowning efforts. Demosthenes opposed the surrender of Harpalus, and was fined and imprisoned. Later on, in 322, at the end of the Lamian war, he was, on somewhat misty grounds, condemned to death. He fled to Calauria, and took refuge in a temple, where he killed himself by poison concealed in his pen. Of copies of various of his works there are upwards of one hundred and seventy extant.



Περὶ τῆς ἀτελείας προσλεπτικῆς



PLATES 81 AND 81a. ARISTOPHANES,  
ELEVENTH CENTURY

Ravenna, Biblioteca Comunale 134, 4A

**T**HE plates represent portions of the *Comedies* of Aristophanes, in Greek. Vellum; 191 leaves, measuring 12½ by 8¾ inches; with 43 lines in a page. Written in the eleventh century.

The MS. has been identified as one which, at least as early as in the fifteenth century, was in the library of the Dukes of Urbino. See A. Martin *Les Scholies du Manuscrit d'Aristophane* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), 1882. A facsimile is given by Wattenbach, *Scriptura Græca Specimina*, 1883, tab. XXVI.

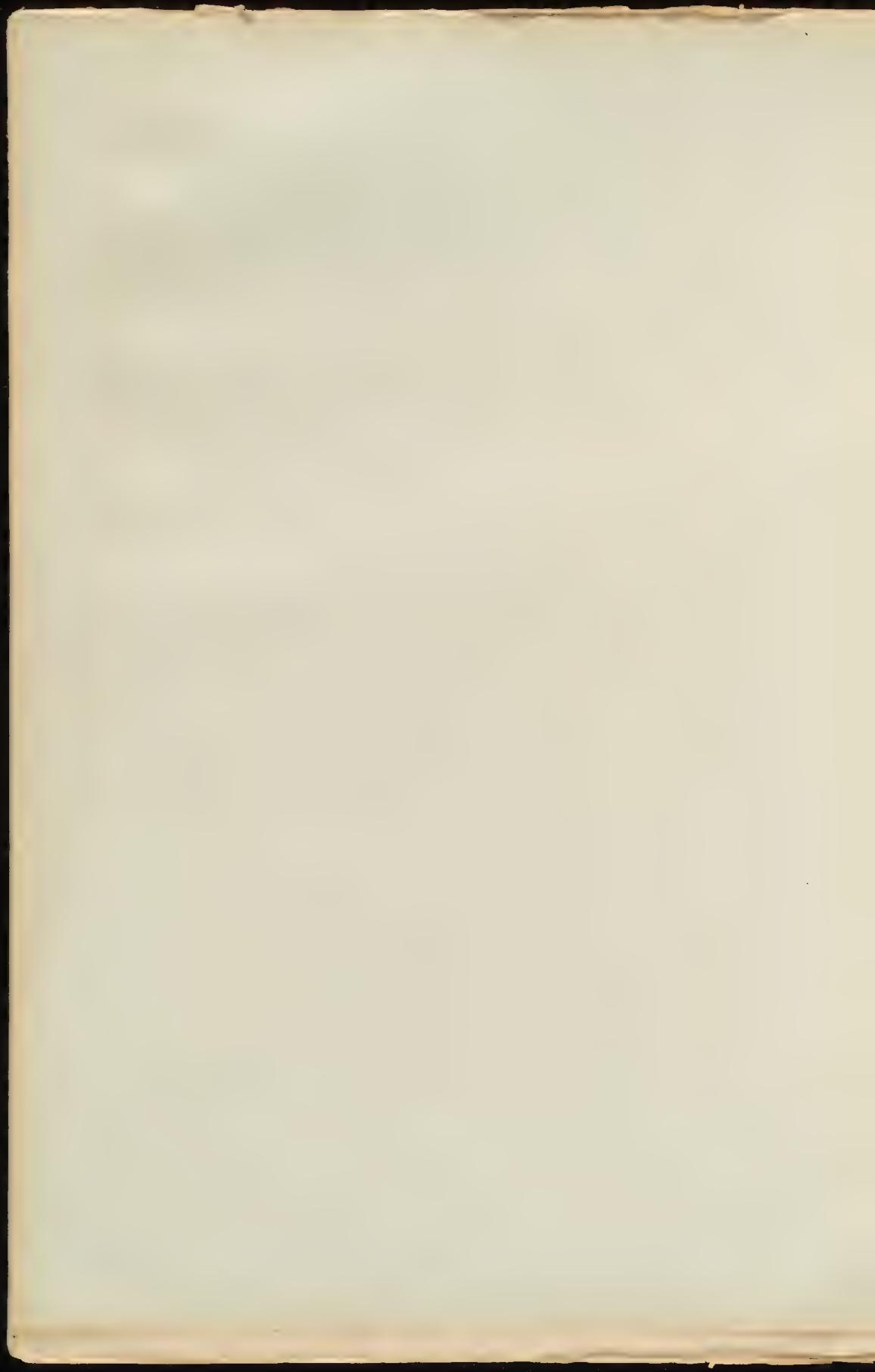
The work is in quires, generally of eight leaves, ruled on the hair side of the vellum. Written in minuscules, with some admixture of uncials, as *r, h, k, l, n*, with scholia in small uncials. The writing of the text depends from the ruled lines, but is irregular. The breathings are both square and round.

The plates represent a portion of the comedy of the *Knights* (*Egoutes*), lines 85 to 127, which open the extract containing a locution of Demosthenes:

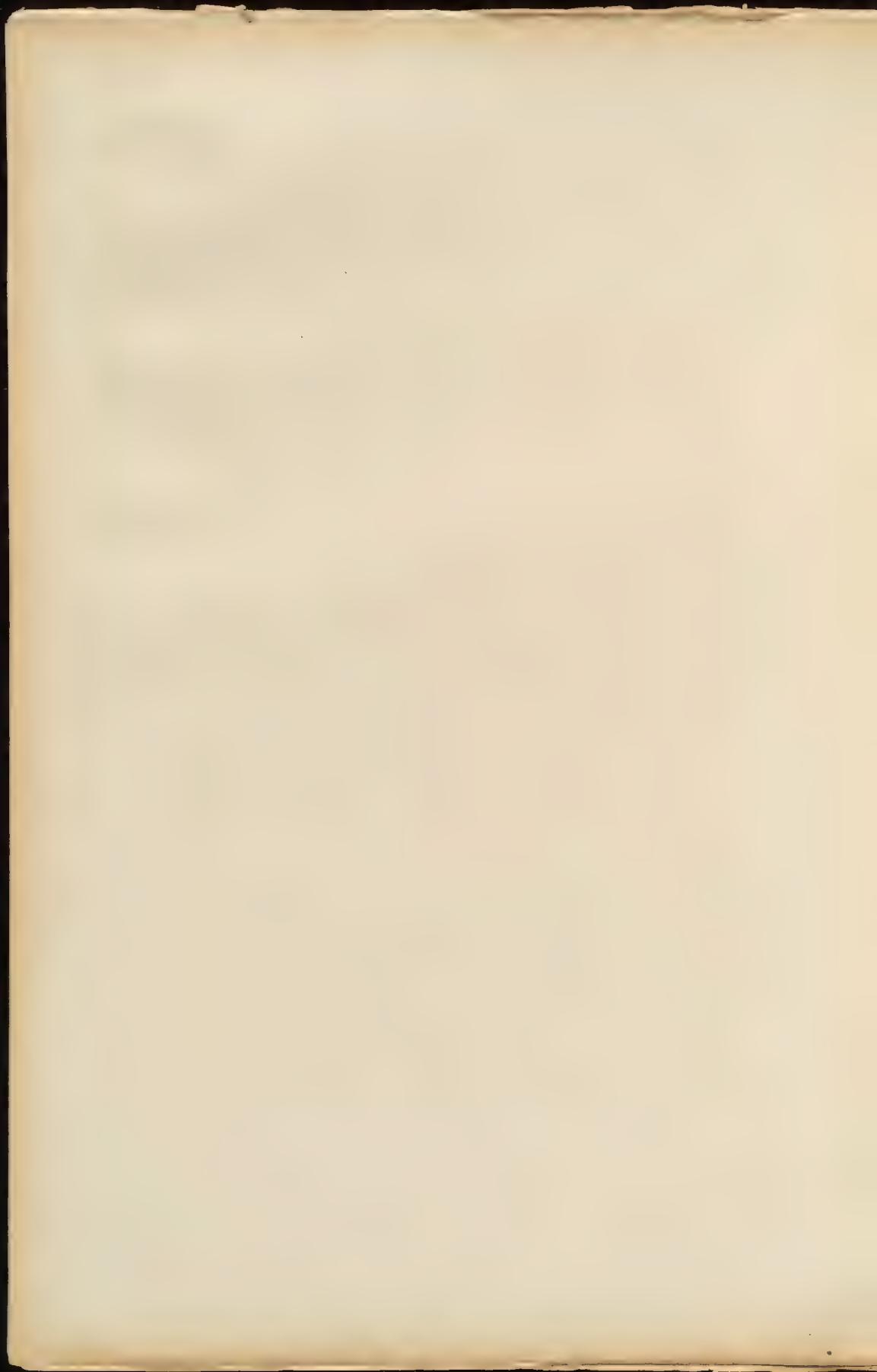
μας δὲ διλαντίζεσθαινον εἰπον  
δημόσιον. Καίρουντα

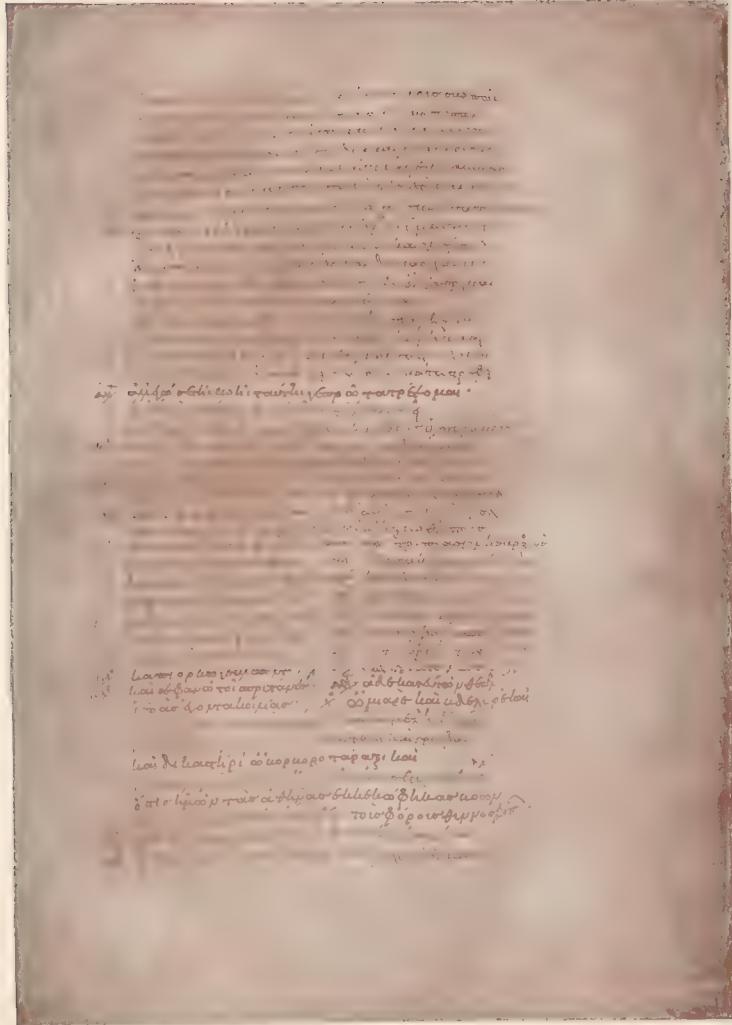
On the first of the pages shown are copious annotations and a lengthy footnote. In the left margin the names of the speakers are indicated in quite a modern style of abbreviations: *Δη* means Demosthenes; *Νι*, Nikias. On the second plate *χο* stands for the chorus, and in about the middle of the page a lively dialogue is placed in a double column, perhaps to economize space, or to preserve the symmetry of the page.

Aristophanes, the great Greek satirist and poet, was born in about the year 448 B.C., and is said to have been "almost a boy" when his first comedy was brought out in 427 B.C. His three sons were all comic poets. Fifty-four comedies were ascribed to Aristophanes, of which forty-three are allowed as genuine. Eleven only are extant, and these form a running commentary on the life of Athens during thirty-six years. His highest faculty is revealed in his lyric writing. The speech of Dikaios Logos in the *Clouds*, the praises of country life in the *Peace*, the serenade in the *Ecclæziazuse*, the songs of the Spartan and Athenian maidens in the *Lysistrata*, above all, perhaps, the chorus in the *Frogs*, the beautiful chant of the Initiated—these passages, and such as these, are considered as the true glories of Aristophanes.



**ARISTOPHANES**





ARISTOPHANES

(4th CENTURY)

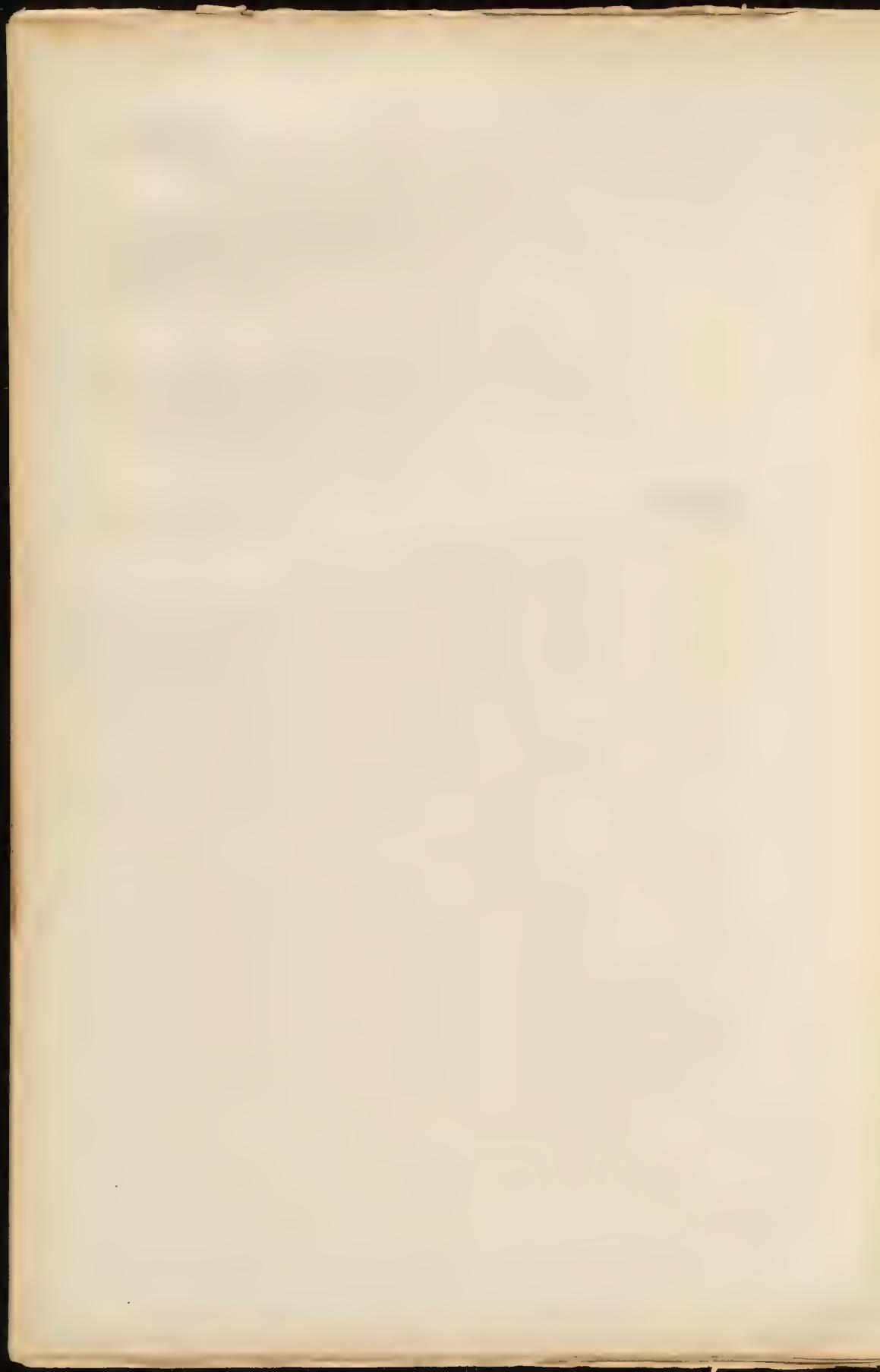


PLATE 82. SUIDAS, A.D. 1402

British Museum, Additional MSS. 11,892 and 11,893

THE plate represents the last page of the second volume of the *Lexicon* of Suidas. This is comprised in two volumes, which are written on paper, having 296 and 367 leaves, respectively, and measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with 30 lines in a page. Written by Georgius Baophorus, A.M. 6910, A.D. 1402. A note at the end of the second volume seems to indicate that the MS. was written for a church or monastery, possibly at Naples.

It is stated by Montfaucon (*Paleographia Graeca*, p. 76) to have belonged to the Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary, at Florence; but the inscription in which this was recorded has been since erased. It subsequently formed part of the library of Dr. Butler, Bishop of Litchfield, and was purchased with his collection of MSS. for the British Museum in 1841.

In set minuscules hanging from ruled lines. There is a dagger mark attached to the footnote, as shown in the plate. The final strokes of a word are generally brought over and back to denote the accents as  $\ddot{\imath}$  in *ἐνωνθῆσαν* in line 1. This was a common practice, and has its analogy in the present day.

The last four pages of the second volume of the MS. seem to be an addition or commentary on the work following the lexicon pages, which ends with Upsilon, Omega being worked in before Pi in the alphabetic arrangement.

The words at foot of the plate are commented on by Montfaucon (*Paleographia Graeca*, p. 76) and mean: "This book was completed according to Suidas by the hand of me, George Baophorus, in the year (of the world) 6910 (in the year) of Christ, 1402, at 10 o'clock on the 15th of June."

The plate shows the colophon in Greek; which begins:

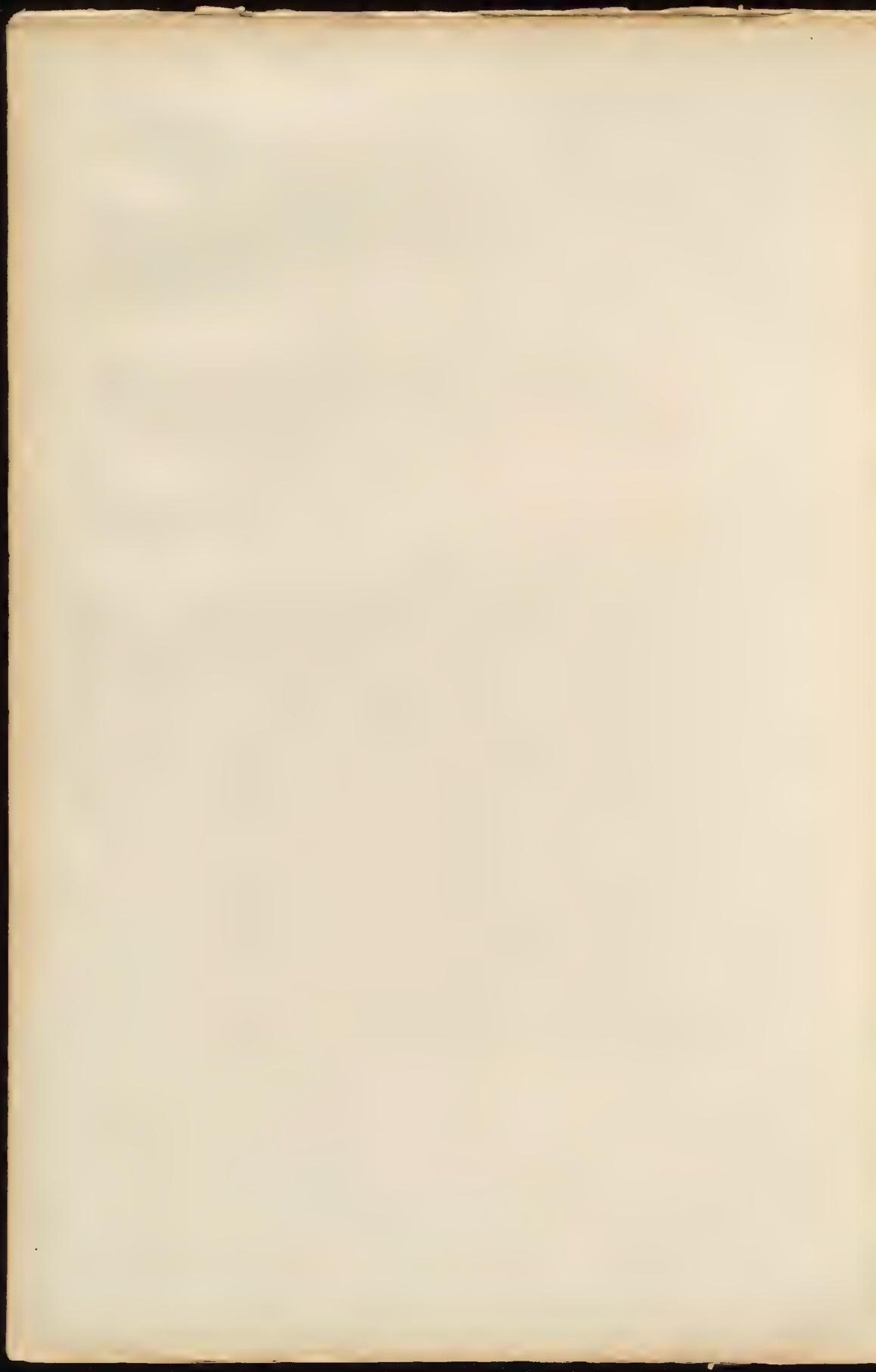
τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν πατρὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν διάκονον τὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν χριστὸν τὸν γερμανὸν τὸν βασιλέα

Nothing is known of the personal life of Suidas; but he must have lived before Eustathius (twelfth century) who quotes him. He was the author of this Greek lexicon, in which, under the heading "Adam," he gives a brief chronology of the world, ending with the death of the emperor John Zimisces. Under "Constantinople," are mentioned the emperors Basil and Constantine, successors of Zimisces, from which it would appear that Suidas lived in the latter part of the tenth century. His lexicon is arranged alphabetically, and is both a dictionary and encyclopaedia. Numerous quotations are made from ancient writers; the scholiast on Aristophanes in particular is much used. The work is not critical, but it contains much important information on ancient history and life. It deals with scriptural as well as pagan subjects, from which we infer that the writer was a Christian. Prefixed to the work is a notice stating "the present book is by Suidas, but its arrangement is the work of twelve learned men," and then follow their names.

The first printed edition of Suidas was that by Demetrius Chalondylas (Milan, 1499), the next by Aldus (Venice, 1514).



17. *Scutellaria* *prae-*<sup>ca-</sup> *lata* *L.* *var.* *oblonga* *Berg*  
*oblonga* *Berg* *var.* *lata* *L.*



## PLATE 83. POLYBIUS, A.D. 1416

British Museum, Additional Manuscript No. 11,728

**T**HIS plate represents page 5 of a manuscript copy of the five books of the history of Polybius. Vellum, 160 leaves, measuring 15 by 10½ inches, with 28 lines in a full page. The text has the same lacuna as are found in the Vatican Greek MS. No. 124 of the eleventh century. It was written in the year 1416 by one Stephen, monk and guardian of the treasury of the Prodromus of a monastery dedicated to St. Petra. It afterwards belonged to the monastery of St. Mary at Florence.

Initials and marginal notes are in red; some initials slightly foliated. The plate shows a blank space for lacuna, there being room for eleven missing lines above the matter exhibited. Minuscules are cursive, of a free hand, hanging from ruled lines, with ordinary contractions.

The first complete sentence on the plate, beginning with the third word, line one, reads:

τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τρίτον συνεχῶς ψηφοῦσθαι  
τῆς διατάξεως πάντα τε δέσμους εὐδόγει  
διαδεκτεῖν τὴν δὲ δημοσιῶτα πόλιν  
έργους.

Polybius, the Greek historian, was born at Megalopolis, between 210-200 B.C. But little is known of his early life; he was born at Megalopolis, and his father, Lycontas, was an intimate friend of Philopemus, the leader of the Achæan league, and after the tragic death of the latter in Messenia (182 B.C.), Polybius was entrusted with the honorable task of conveying home the urn in which the great soldier's ashes had been deposited. The following year (181) his political career may be said to have begun; the Achæan republic chose him as a member of an embassy deputed to bear thanks to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, for the succour he had rendered the Achæans. This mission, however, was brought to a premature end by the sudden death of Ptolemy. After the fall of Perseus, Polybius was among the 1,000 Achæans who were arrested and sent to Italy; his exile, which lasted sixteen years (166-150), was greatly ameliorated by his friendship with Scipio, which friendship was of lifelong duration, and of inestimable service to Polybius. While in Italy, Polybius gathered together the materials for his great work; i.e., a general history from the beginning of the second Punic War to the ruin of Carthage, and the subjection of Greece, A.C. 218-146, in which he sought to explain the course of events by which Rome, "in the short period of fifty-three years," conquered the world. Of this history, which is in forty books, we have the first five complete, and portions, more or less important, of the others. Polybius was the first to conceive the idea of a veritable general history, and his love of truth, severe impartiality, his vast and varied knowledge render the perusal of his work most interesting. By his help we learn the secret politics of the Senate, we grasp the spirit of the Roman institutions, and get a glimpse of the splendid military organization of the Republic.

Polybius holds that only men of affairs are competent to become reliable historians. He points out that there are two ways of gaining knowledge: "One derived from reading books, and the other from interrogating men;" and he inveighs with some asperity

against those historians who confine themselves to the former method.

"The knowledge that is acquired by reading," he says, "is gained without any danger or any kind of toil. If a man will only fix his residence in the neighborhood of a library, he may make his researches with perfect ease; and, reposing himself with full tranquillity, may compare the accounts and detect the errors of former writers. But the knowledge which is drawn from personal examination and inquiry, is attended with great fatigue and great expense. It is this, however, which is the most important, and which gives, indeed, the chief value to history."

"It was said by Plato," Polybius continues, "that human affairs would be well administered when philosophers should be kings, or kings philosophers. In the same manner I would say: That history would be well composed if those who are engaged in great affairs should undertake to write it; not in a slight and negligent manner, like some of the present age, but regarding such a work as one of the noblest and most necessary of their duties, and pursuing it with unremitting application, as the chief business of their lives. Till this shall happen, there will be no end of mistakes in history."

But while thus speaking for men of affairs, Polybius has in mind also philosophers, for he declares that it is impossible to make a clear judgment of the victorious or vanquished by a bare account of events. We must know, he says, the laws and customs of the people, and the passions and circumstances which prevail among them with regard to public and private ends.

All this is highly admirable; nor is it in dispute that Polybius attained a large measure of success along these lines. Only five of his forty books have come down to us entire, but these sufficiently illustrate his method and its results. It has been said of them that no student of the period can ignore them, but that no one else would willingly read them. This criticism, like most other epigrammatic verdicts, is unjust. There is much in the work of Polybius that any one may read with full interest. His descriptions of the major events are by no means so bald and unimaginative as some critics would contend. They do indeed eschew the marvellous and attempt to avoid exaggeration; but this surely is no fault; nor do these limitations exclude picturesqueness. But the really vital fault of Polybius is his method of construction. He uses virtually the plan which Diodorus adopted later of attempting to keep the narrative of events in different countries in the closest chronological sequence. This necessitates a constant interruption of his narrative, through shifting the scene of action from one country to another, until all sense of continuity is lost. Add to this an ineradicable propensity to be forever moralizing—interrupting the narrative of some startling event to explain in detail how startling events should be treated by the historian—and the reasons are sufficiently manifest why Polybius is hard to read. It is a great pity that he did not, like Trogus Pompeius, find a Justin to epitomize his work; for by common consent he was one of the most dependable historians of antiquity; and he is recognized as the standard source for all periods of which his extant works treat. Indirectly his influence is even more extensive, since Livy made use of him as his authority for the events of the Second and Third Punic Wars, and Appian also drew on him freely.

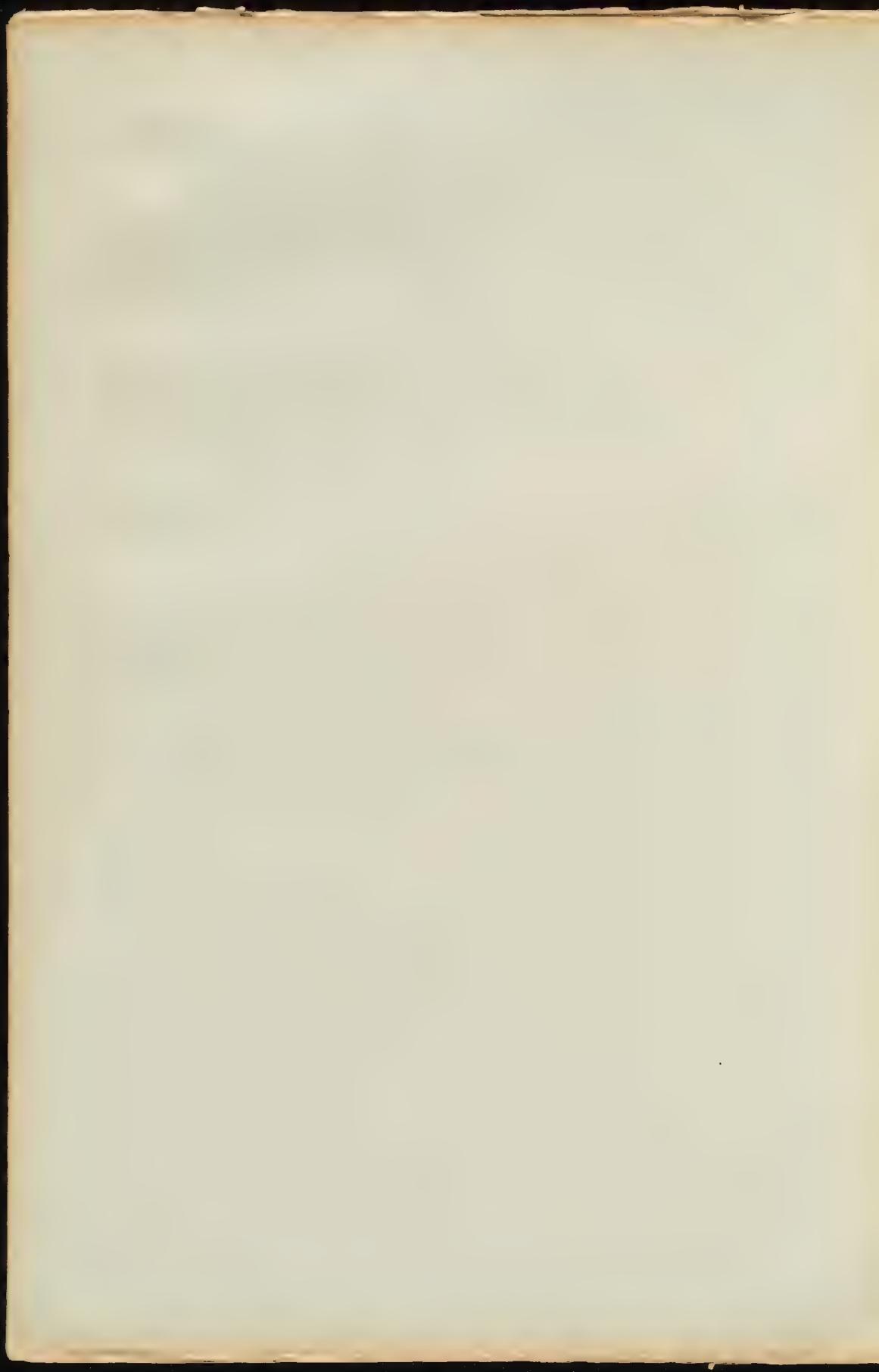






PLATE 83a. HOMER'S ILIAD, A.D. 1431

British Museum, King's Manuscript 16

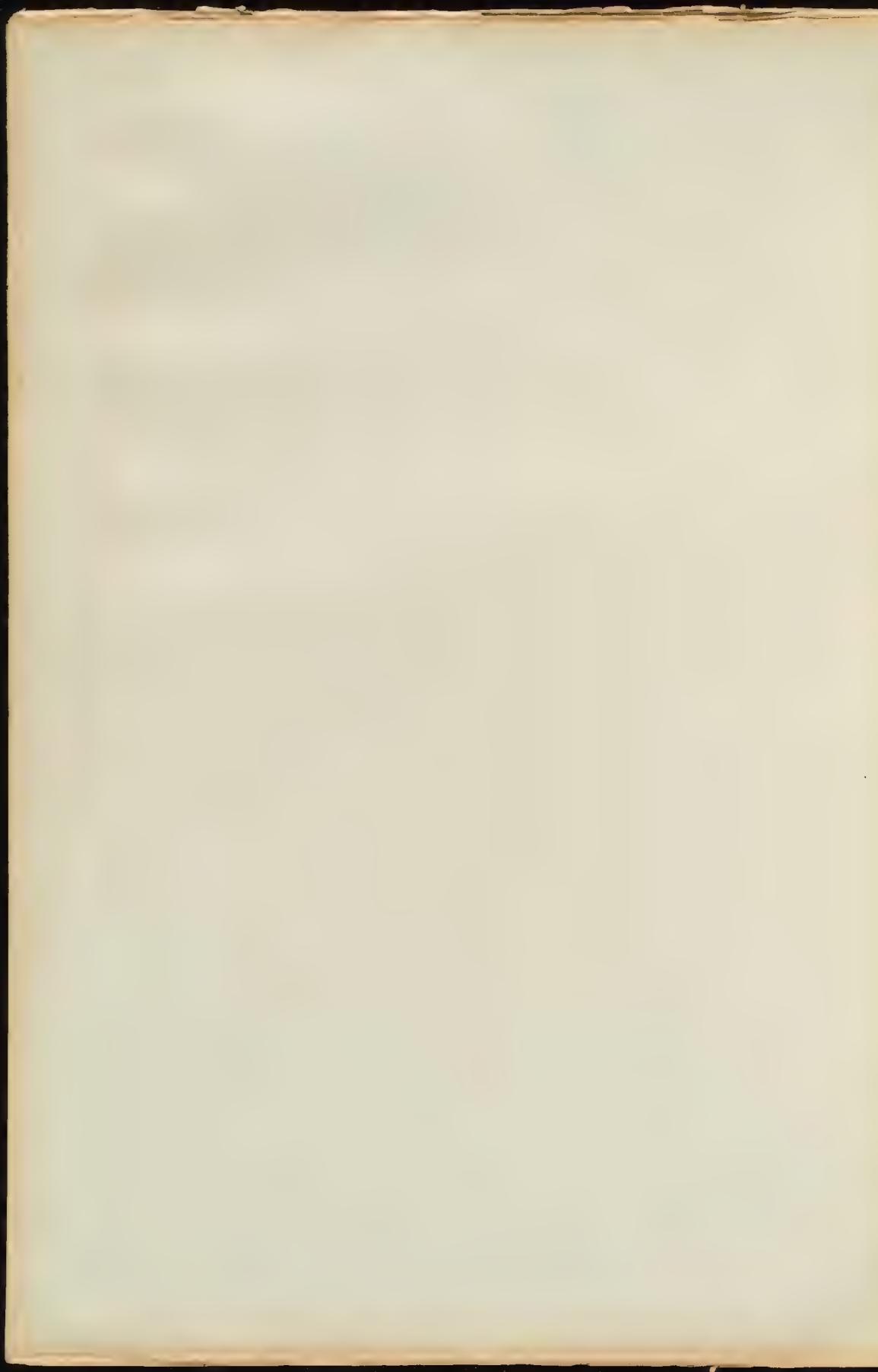
THE *Iliad* of Homer. Vellum, 281 leaves measuring 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  by 7 inches, with 28 lines in a page. Written in Italy by a scribe named Christopher in the year 1431.—*Paleographical Society*.

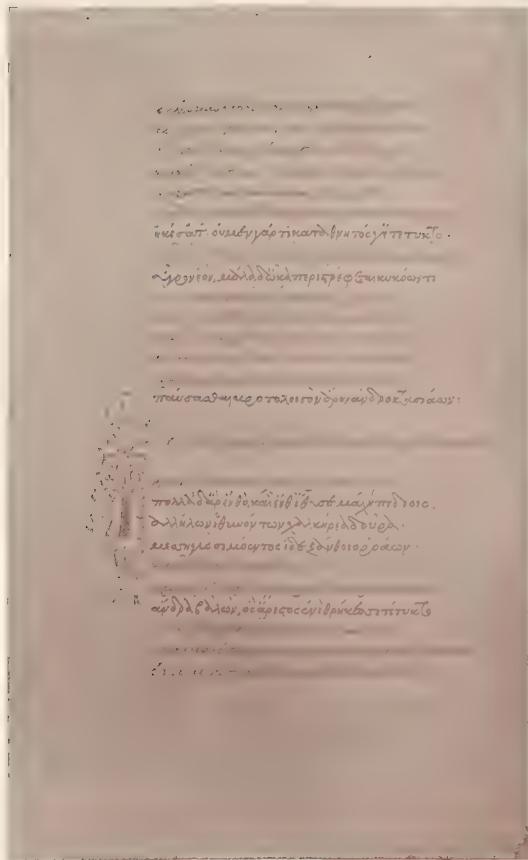
The manuscript is formed of quires of ten leaves, ruled on one side of the leaf, and is written with great regularity, the letters hanging from the ruled lines. Words are often joined together. Contractions are rare. The letters *θ* and *ρ* are sometimes combined. The initial letters of the different books are generally ornamented with sprigs, and are colored blue or red.

The manuscripts begin with a life of Homer and a list of contents of the various books of the *Iliad*. At the end is an inscription which when translated, reads: "This book of Homer was finished in the year of 1431 of the Incarnation of Christ. The work of Christopher, as a gift of God."

The plate shows folio 63b, Book V, line 896, to Book VI, line 10, of the *Iliad* describing the healing of Mars by Jove, and the abandonment of a dreadful battle of the Trojans and Greeks on the death of the Trojan hero Ajax, who was slain by the Telamonian Ajax.

The date appearing on the Plate has been printed as 1413 instead of 1431. For other manuscripts of Homer, see Plates 65b, 68, 73 and 76.

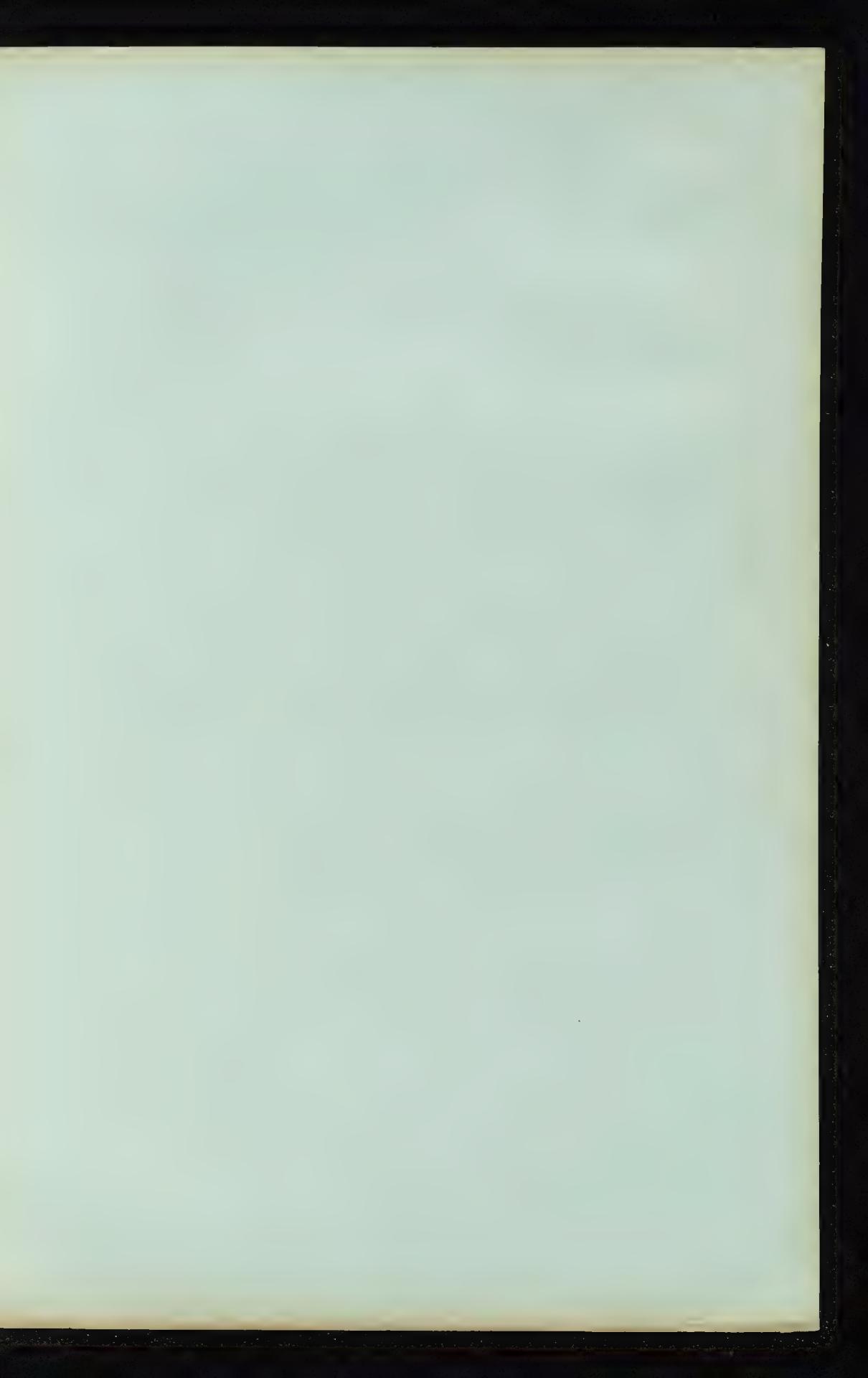


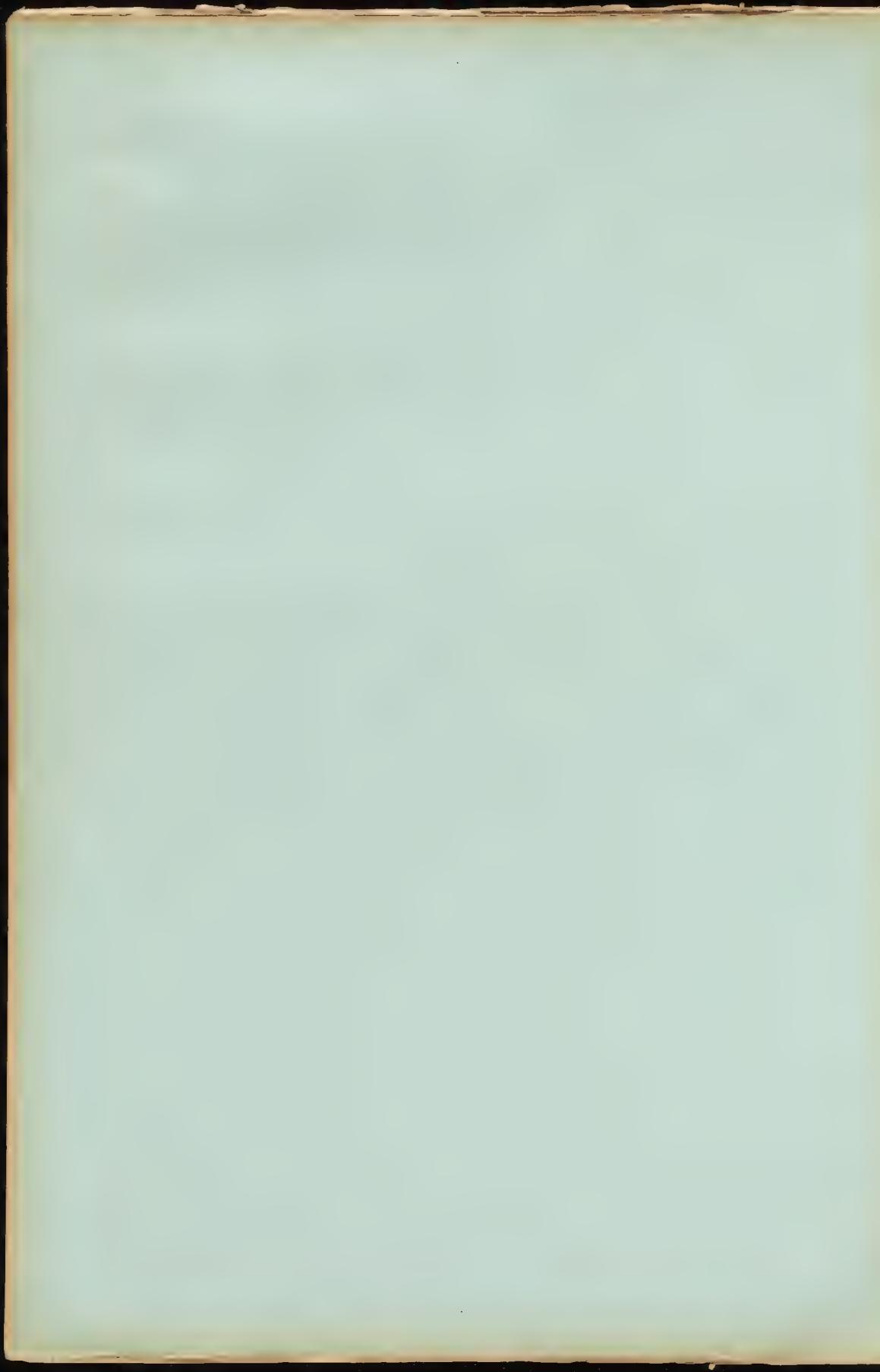


HOMER'S ILIAD

(A. D. 1473)







CHAPTER XVII

- Plate 84. Inscription from Makter, Tunis (Fourth Century A.D.).  
Plate 84a. Edict of Diocletian, A.D. 301.  
Plate 84b. Edict of Diocletian, A.D. 301.  
Plate 85. Virgilius, Fourth or Fifth Century A.D.  
Plate 86. Imperial Rescript (Fifth Century A.D.).  
Plate 87. Titus Livius [Fifth Century A.D.]  
Plate 88. S. Hilary de Trinitate (Sixth Century A.D.).  
Plate 89. S. Jerome's Chronicle of Eusebius, Sixth Century A.D.  
Plates 90-90a. Grant to the Church of Ravenna, Seventh Century A.D.  
Plate 91. Greek-Latin Glossary, Seventh Century A.D.  
Plate 92. Pope Gregory's *Moralia* (Seventh Century A.D.).  
Plate 93. *Speculum of S. Augustine*, Seventh Century A.D.



## CHAPTER XVII

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN MAJUSCULE

**W**E have already noted the paucity of Latin manuscripts of an early age as compared with the Greek. A certain number of early inscriptions on less perishable materials exist for the earlier centuries of Rome, but it is only in the later days of the Republic that these become abundant. As to manuscripts proper, the only ones in existence earlier than about the fourth century A.D. are some fragments from a house at Herculaneum. The cursive Roman script of the same period is shown in some otherwise unimportant scrolls upon the walls of various buildings in Pompeii. These fragments aside, the manuscript materials for the study of Latin paleography date only from about the fourth century; but from that time on manuscripts are increasingly abundant, until in the later Middle Ages they take precedence in numbers over all other manuscripts combined. But this was long after Latin had ceased to be a living tongue, and when it had become the medium of communication between people of different nationalities, chiefly because it was a dead language.

Considering the manuscripts and inscriptions from the fourth to the seventh centuries, four principal types of character are to be noted. These are: the capital letters used in the earliest documents; the uncial script which is almost exclusively predominant after the fifth century; the cursive script in its various modifications, as employed for purposes of everyday use; and, finally, toward the close of this period, a modified uncial, which is to prepare the way for the minuscule of a later period.

A good illustration of the capital script is shown in the Virgil of Plate 85. Here, as will be observed, the letters do not differ greatly from those of the imperial edict of Diocletian shown in Plates 84a and 84b.

The uncial script is shown in the Livy of Plate 87 of the fifth century, and further examples of it may be seen in the Plates of the sixth and seventh centuries. The cursive script is well shown in Plates 86, 90 and 90a.

The first thing that must strike the English reader in glancing at these early Latin texts is the close similarity of the characters in which they are written to that with which he is familiar through its everyday use in modern printed texts. Consider, for example, the Virgil of Plate 85. Here, with a single exception, the characters, letter for letter, are precisely the same that are shown in any child's primer; the only exception being that no distinction is made between the U and the V. For the rest the manuscript might have been written yesterday instead of fifteen hundred years ago.

Such conservatism as this obviously requires an explanation. Hitherto in examining the writing of different

nations, we have had occasion to note the divergence in almost every case of the daughter script from the parent Phoenician. The Arabic, the Pahlavi and the various Indian scripts had become so modified in the course of a few centuries of use as to be quite unrecognizable. No unscientific observer, shown any one of these alphabets, would suspect its origin. But in the case of this Roman script not only has the form been conserved in modern usage, but the Roman itself is obviously quite similar to that earliest Phoenician alphabet from which it sprang. It is quite true that the Latin script became modified in the Middle Ages, and we shall have occasion to note that, as then used, it differs very much more from the current script of our time than does this early example; and here again this reversion to the early type requires explanation. Fortunately, it is not difficult to give at least a partial answer to the questions thus suggested. The answer is found in the fact that the Phoenicians, the Romans, and the modern Europeans possessed in common the one fundamental trait of practicality. The Phoenicians were the traders and colonizers of antiquity. They have left us no literature and no art. They put their stamp upon the age not by creative genius, but by disseminating the culture evolved by other nations. They invented or adopted an alphabet because it would be of use to them not in creating literature, but in carrying out the practical ends of trade, and for the same reason the alphabet which they invented was eminently clear and unambiguous as to its characters,—in a word, practical.

What was true of the Phoenicians was true in a somewhat modified degree of the Romans. As compared with the Egyptians, Mesopotamians or Greeks, their literary and artistic output was relatively small. It is even sometimes said that they created no art whatever, and if this be an exaggeration, it is at least an exaggeration which disguises a virtual truth. In literature the aggregate production of the Romans was by no means despicable, yet it was surely insignificant in comparison with the greatness of the nation and the long term of its existence. Practical government, with all that it implies, was the forte of the Roman. He was essentially a conqueror, a master of wide domains. Naturally, then, he desired the most direct and unambiguous medium of communication available. He found this in the alphabet which he adopted from the Phoenicians. He modified that alphabet slightly here and there, always in the direction either of greater clearness or of more facile production, and when he had finished he had produced an alphabet of such practical perfection that the modern European has seen no need of change.

PLATE 84. INSCRIPTION FROM MAKTER, TUNIS  
(FOURTH CENTURY A.D.)

Paris, Musée du Louvre

EPIGRAPH in twenty-eight lines of Latin elegiac verse inscribed upon a tombstone which was found in 1884 in the neighborhood of Makter (the ancient Macktaris) in Tunis, and is now deposited in the Louvre. The verses are in honor of a man, not named, who, having been employed as a field laborer in harvest work for twelve years, rose to the rank of foreman, in which capacity he served for eleven years, eventually becoming a proprietor and a magistrate in his municipality. The inscription is probably of the fourth century, although uncial characters were used in African inscriptions even in the previous century. (See Hubner, *Exempla Scriptura Epigraph. Lat.* 1885, xxxviii.)—*Paleographical Society.*

The stone measures about sixty-five by twenty-one inches, the verses covering a surface of about twenty-eight by seventeen inches. Only the upper portion, however, has been dressed, in the form of a panel within a sunk frame for a shorter inscription. The surface has suffered from weather, whereby the first two lines have been obliterated and others rendered indistinct. At the top have been added, in larger letters and in irregular lines, apparently after the verses had been cut, two inscriptions which are now only partly legible. The sides of the stone also contain two short inscriptions.

Certain imperfections will be observed in the epitaph. For instance, the sculptor, in line 8, has omitted *n* in *tunc*, and in line 17 *conta* is equivalent to *contenta*.

In line 23 a fault in the stone separates *ipse*, and also *fui*, and for the same cause in line 28 the word *sic* is spaced out.

Line 24 was damaged subsequent to the discovery of the stone, but an impression copy was made before the accident.

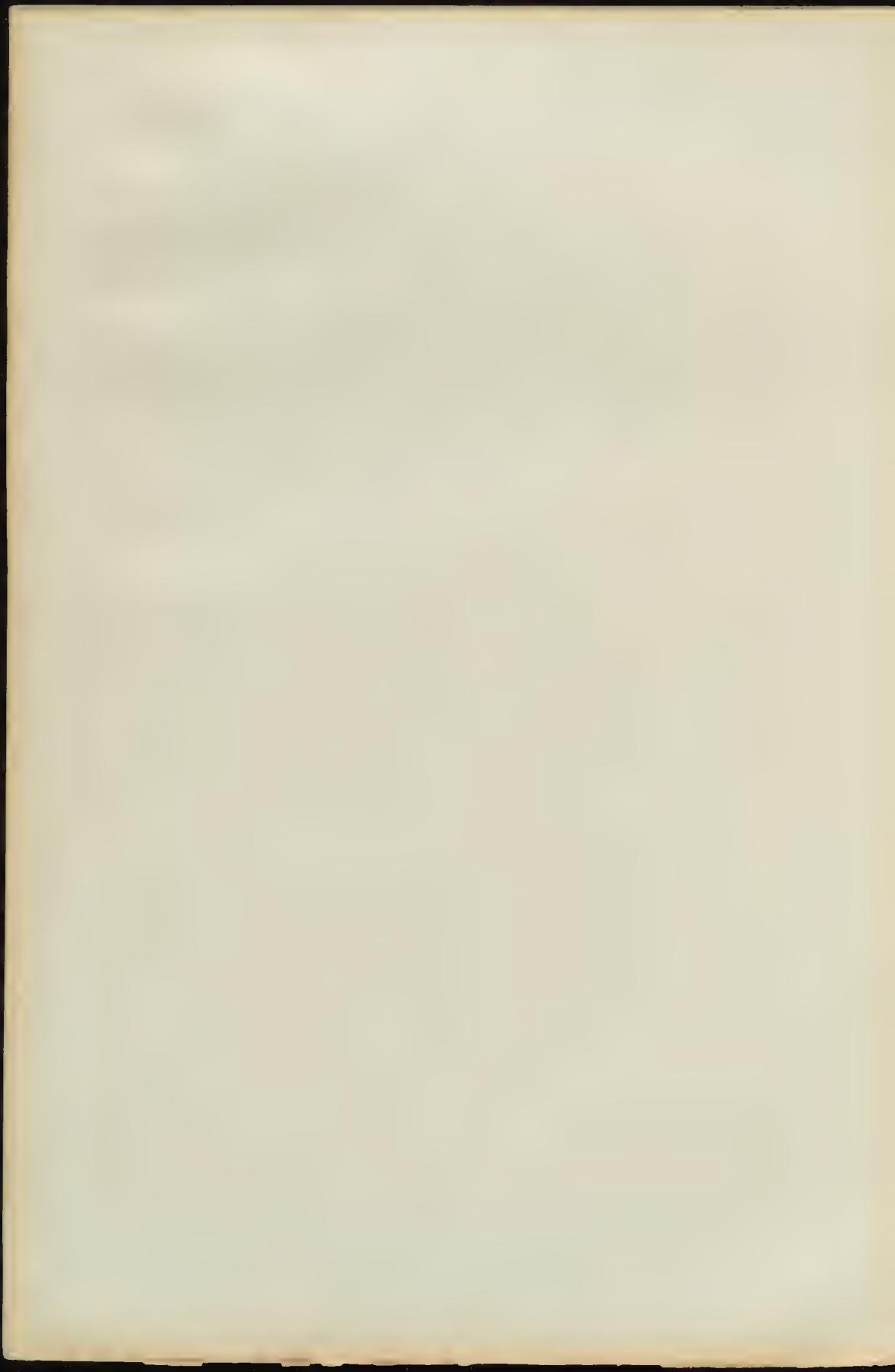
A pentameter has been omitted after line 17, and the order of indentation lost till line 21; so again at 24, but the mistake is at once corrected.

The letter *A* occurs both with and without a cross-stroke; *B* is left open (line 17); *F* does not always have cross-stroke (line 9, *falifera*); and *S* is a slightly waved vertical stroke.

A ruled margin was originally made for the guidance of the scribe, but after the first few lines the writing tends to the right.

As a guide to reading, the last four lines are :

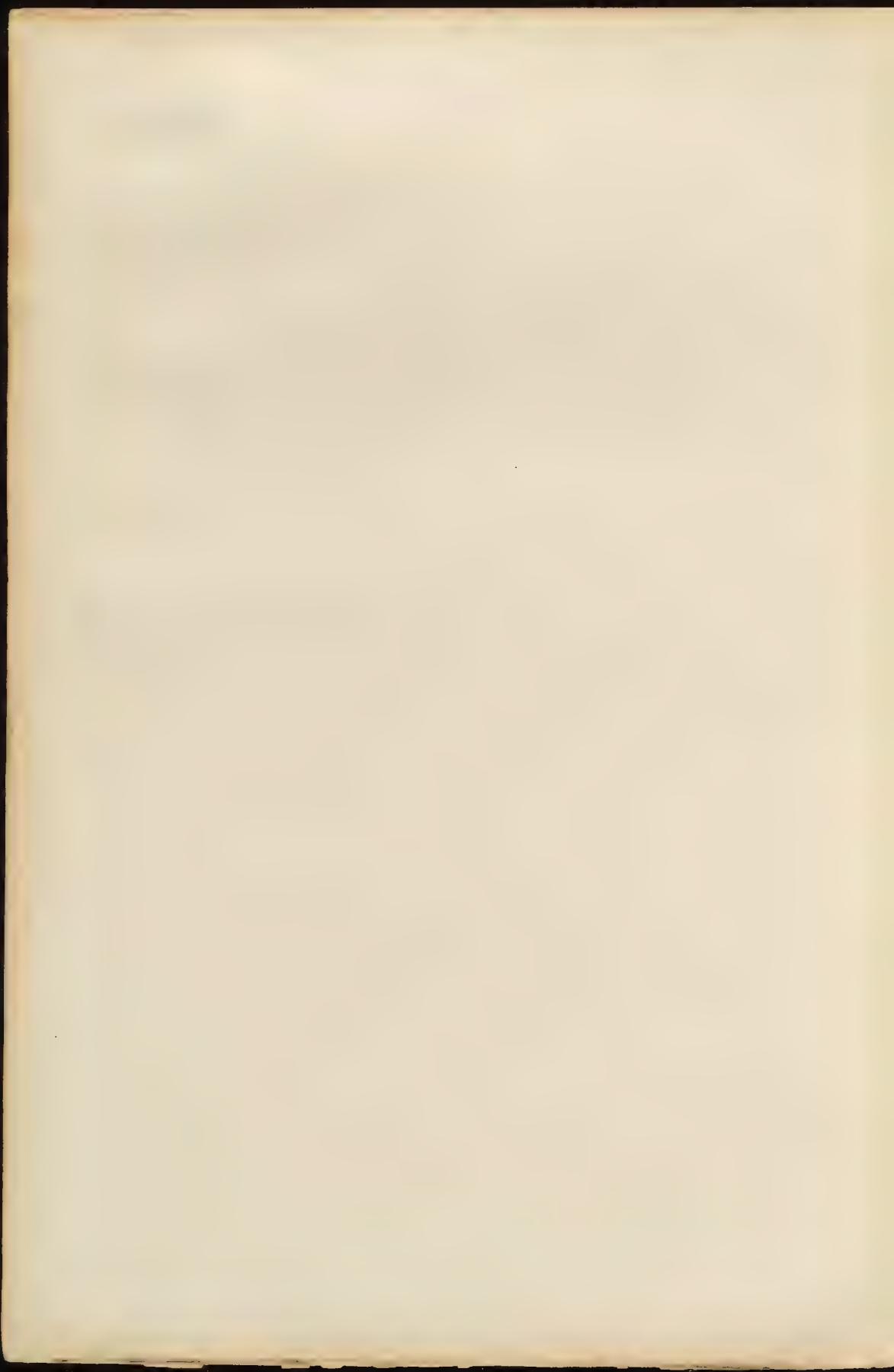
Uitate pro meritis claros transegimus annos  
quos nullo lingua criminè laesit atroc  
dis cite mortales sine criminè degere uitam  
sic meruit uixit qui sine fraude mori.



INSCRIPTION FROM MAKTER, TUNIS

INSCRIPTION FROM MAKTER, TUNIS

(4th CENTURY)



PLATES 84a AND 84b. EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN,  
A.D. 301

Athens, National Museum

THE first part of the preamble to the edict "De Pretiis Venalium," issued in A.D. 301, by the Emperor Diocletian to regulate prices within the limits of the Roman Empire, was no doubt engraved immediately after the proclamation of the edict, upon this marble stele, which was found in 1889, in a ruined Byzantine church in Platea, having there been used as a slab for the pavement. Originally there were fifty-five lines, but the first has been chiselled off, and the right-hand portions of the greater number trodden away. The stele measures 4 feet 5 inches in height, 2 feet 9 inches at the bottom, and 2 feet 7½ inches at the top, in width. Considerations of space necessitate the presentation of the stele on two separate plates. It will be understood that the original is not divided.

The present inscription is the only Latin copy that has been found in Greece, though two other important inscriptions of this edict, in Latin, have survived, one now at Aix, in Provence, was discovered in Egypt; the other remains in position on the wall of a Roman building in Stratonika in Caria; some smaller fragments in Latin or in Greek are also known.

The inscription as represented on our plates was cut by an ignorant and clumsy workman, and though some peculiarities may be passed as instances of local pronunciation, there are many blunders arising from the stone-cutter's own confusion of letters, and his inability to read what he was copying. The letters are uncials; with an admixture of half-cursive or minuscule forms.

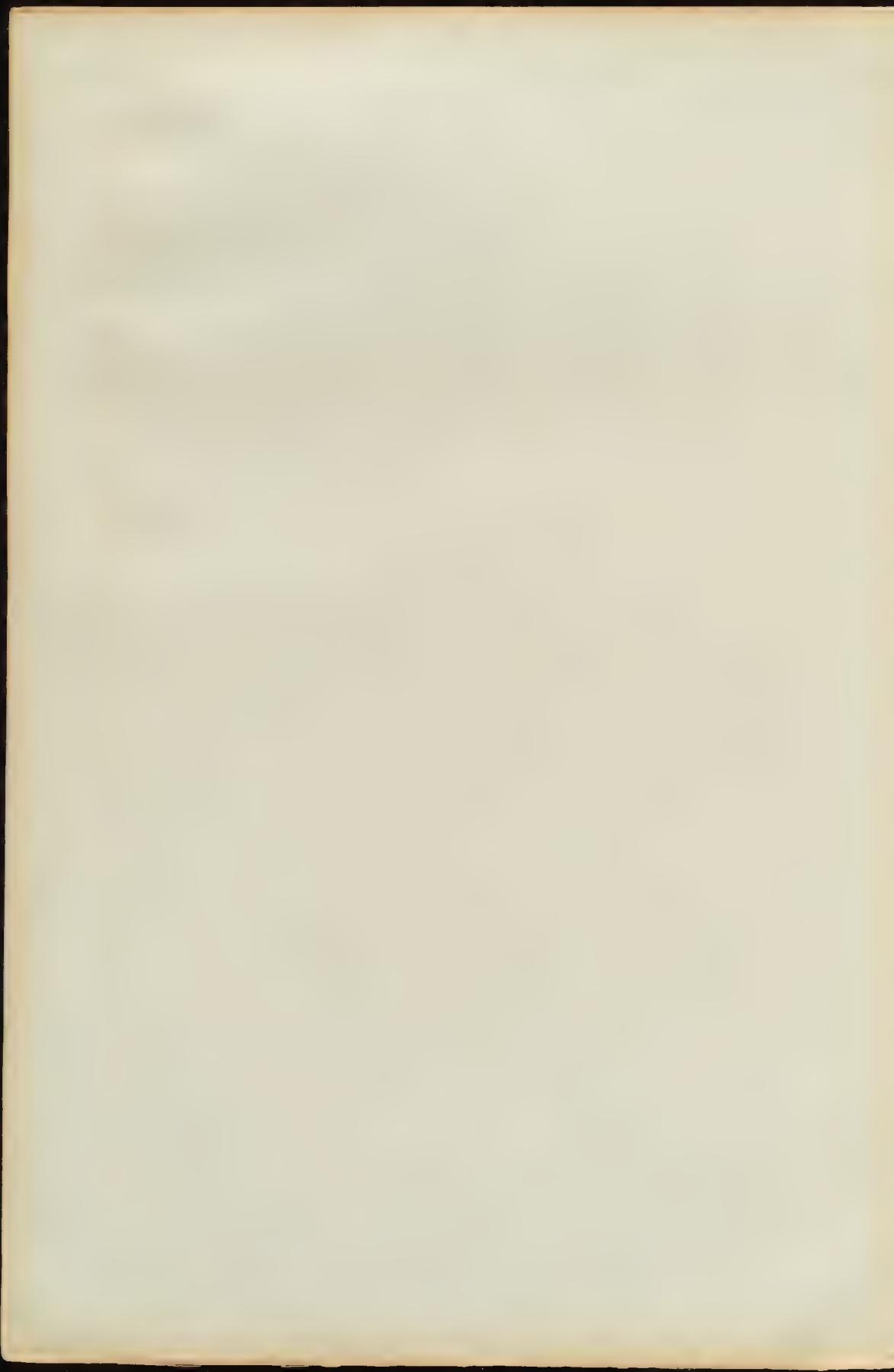
The following is a transliteration of lines 10 and 11 of the inscription:

"baccanidi ligentiam qua pessime in dies eiusmodi surtae la(cerantur) . . . de relictus locus uideretur cum detestaniam. . . ."

Valerius Diocletian was born near Salona in Dalmatia, in A.D. 245. He adopted a military career, serving with distinction under Probus and Aurelian, and accompanying Carus to Persia. The murder of Numerianus was brought to light, Diocletian was proclaimed emperor by the army. The suspected assassin, the prefect Arrius Aper, he slew with his own hands, thus (so the story goes) fulfilling a prophecy made by a Druidess of Gaul in his youth, that he should ascend the throne after having slain a boar (*aper*).

Diocletian was by no means indifferent to the welfare and comforts of his subjects. He encouraged trade, abolished certain monopolies, and manifested a desire to advance merit, and repress corruption. The views he entertained upon subjects connected with political economy are well illustrated in the edict here referred to, fixing the wages of the laborers and artisans, with the maximum price of all the necessities and commodities of life.

For further details of the inscriptions of these edicts see Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique* (ed. Waddington), volume iii (1864), page 145; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, volume iii, part ii (1873), page 801; and for a description of the stele by Tarbell and Rolfe, *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens*, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1889, page 428.



EDICT OF  
THE EMPEROR  
DIOCLETIAN

BY THE EMPEROR DIOCLETIAN,

AND THE EMPEROR MAXIMIAN,

EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN

(A. D. 305)





EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN

(A. D. 301)

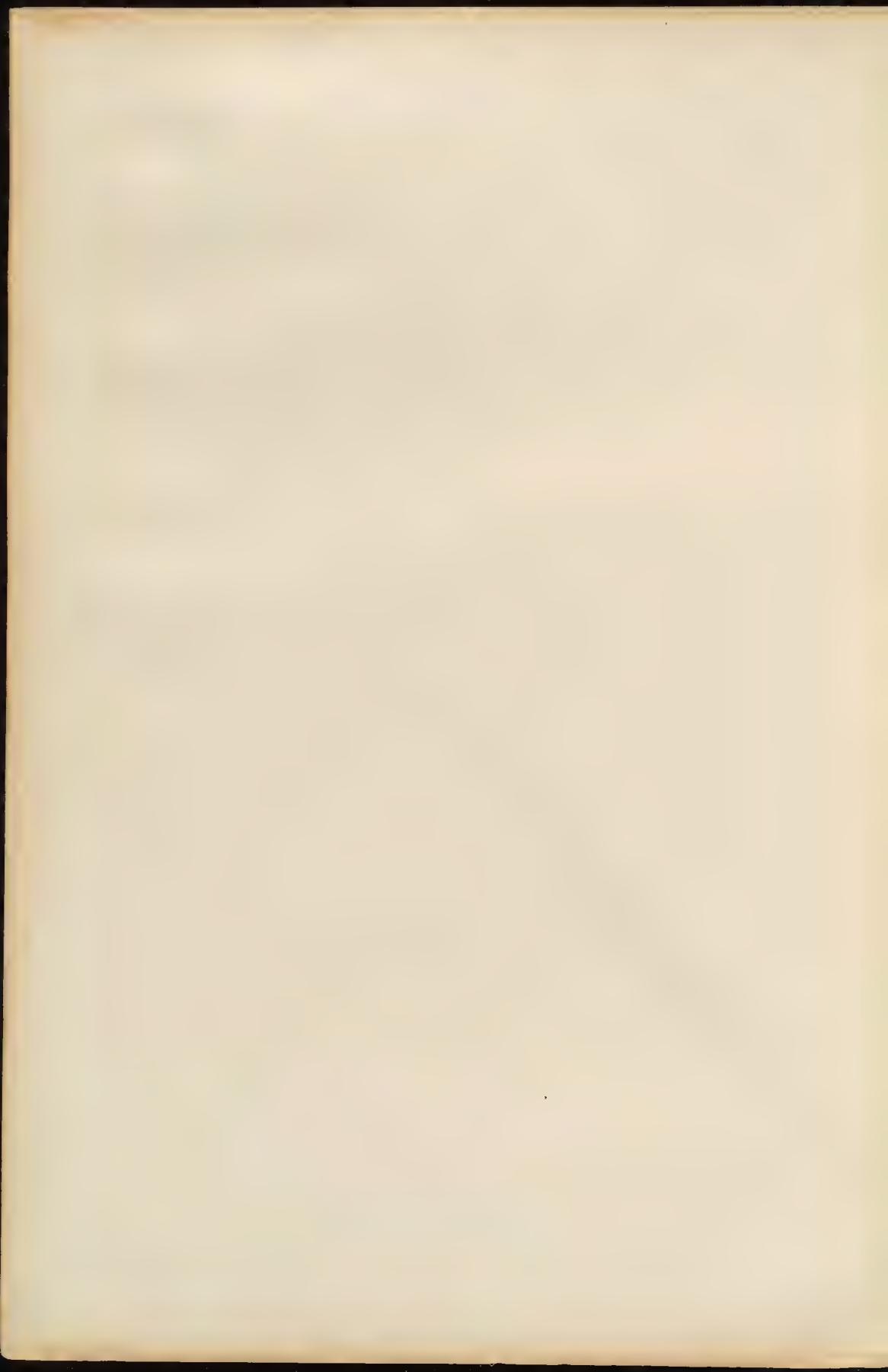


PLATE 85. VIRGILIUS, FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY A.D.

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 1,394

**T**HIS plate shows one of the eleven imperfect leaves, with smaller fragments, of the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* of Virgil. It is written on vellum, and was originally a large quarto volume, with nineteen lines in a full page. Four of the leaves have been rewritten in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the original text being erased from some of the pages. The date of the MS. may be of the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.

The plate represents the *Aeneid*, Book I, at lines 685-702, describing the arrival of Cupid at Dido's feast.

The letters are rather heavy and wanting in compactness, and remind the reader strongly of epigraphic inscriptions. The only abbreviation used is *q* for *que*. The ends of a few of the lines are missing. Originally there were no marks of punctuation, but these now appear in sundry places as a kind of comma raised to the top of the line of writing. It is interesting to note that the letter *F* is made slightly taller than *B*, and a similar precaution is taken with regard to *Z* and *I*, apparently in order to avoid confusion. There are a few variations in the text from that accepted by the best editors, such variations being italicised in the following transliteration:

Lib. i, v. 689-706.

Vt, cym te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido,  
Regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,  
Cvm dabit amplexus adque oscula dulcia fijget.]  
Occultum inspires ignem, fallasque venen[o.]  
Paret Amor dictis carae geneticis, et alas  
Exvit, et gressu gaudens inedit Ivi.  
At Vens Ascanii placidam per membra quiet[em]  
Iuritat, et fotvm gremio Dea tolit in altos  
Idaliae lvcos : vbi mollis amaracys illvm  
Floribus et dvlici azpirans complectitur um[bra.]  
Iamq(ue) ibat, dicto parens, et dona Cypido  
Regia portabat Tyriis, ducce laetvs Achate.  
Cvm venit, avlaet iam se regim surperbis  
Avrea composit sponda mediamq(ue) locavit.  
Iam pater Aeneas et iam Troiana inventvs  
Convenivnt, stratoq(ue) super discvmbitv[r] os[tro]  
Dant manib[us] famosi lymphas, Cereromq(ue) can[istris]  
Expeditvnt, tonsisq(ue) fervit mantelia villis.

The fact that these verses are enumerated as Book I, 689-706, instead of 685-702, is due to the inclusion of the four lines beginning with "Ille ego," which some commentators attribute to Varius, preceding the usual familiar opening of the poem "Arma virumque cano."

The passage begins where Venus is speaking to Cupid, and in translation reads:

"Then when Dido takes thee joyfully to her bosom, and gives

thee wine at the royal table, embracing thee and fastening sweet kisses upon thee, then shalt thou breathe into her heart a hidden fire, and deceive her with the poison of love."

Cupid obeys the commands of his cherished mother, putting aside his wings and assuming the disguise of Ascanius, while Venus soothes Ascanius himself into a peaceful sleep; and, close to her breast, the goddess bears him to her high Idalian groves, where the sweet-scented marjoram surrounds him with its blossoms and a dulcet shade.

So Cupid went to fulfil her wishes, carrying regal gifts to the Carthaginians, and happy to be under the guidance of Achates. And when he came, already had the queen arranged her magnificent draperies, and was seated in the midst of her golden couch. Father Aeneas, also, and the Trojan youth were already assembled, and sitting down on the purple couch. Slaves give them water for their hands, bring them bread in baskets, and offer them napkins of fine cloth.

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) was unquestionably the most illustrious of the Roman poets. Born at Andes, near Mantua, Cispaline Gaul, 70 B.C., he received an excellent education, and about 37 B.C. removed to Rome, where he devoted himself exclusively to literature. His works are as follows: *Elegies* or *Bucolics* (written 42-37), *Georgics* (37-30), and the *Aeneid*. Virgil was doubtless the first of the poets whose works were printed, the first edition of his poems appearing in Rome about 1469.

In the composition of the *Georgica*—a didactic poem on rural economy he spent seven years. It presents a marvellous union of didactic precept with graphic description and ingenious illustration, expressed with great variety and magnificence of diction which stands unapproached by any other Roman poet.

His greatest work was the *Aeneid*. It forms a true and yet idealizing interpretation of the imperial idea of Rome, in its national, religious, and personal significance, and this is the basis of its monumental greatness. The true keynote of the poem is struck in the thirty-third line of the proem :

"Tanta molis erat Romanum condere gentem."

From a letter written by Virgil in B.C. 27, it may be inferred that this great national epic was begun very near to that date. A tradition runs that he requested his friends just before his death to burn the MS., which he regarded as imperfect. On their refusal, he entrusted its publication to his literary executors, Tucca and Varius.

Virgil has always been regarded as one of the greatest masters of language; his *Aeneid* is among the most beautiful literary monuments which remains to us of all antiquity.

The poet was buried at Naples, where his tomb was long regarded with religious veneration and visited as a temple.



VT CVM TEGEBMIDACOMITIATISSIPARADO  
REGALISINTERMENAS LATINCENIQUE YAHVAM  
CVM DABITAMPLEX VSADQUE OSCIADVICIAE  
OCCULTUM INSPIRESICIPM FALUSQUE VENEN  
PARETAMORDICTISCARAEGENETRITISSTALAS  
EXVITET GRESSUCAUDENS INCUDIT  
AT VENVSASCANIOPACIDAM PER MEMBRACUM  
IN RIGATE ET FOIVMCREMIODEATO/LITNALTO  
ID ALIAE LVCOSVBIMOILLIBARIARACVSILIVM  
FLORIBVS ET DULCIADSPIRANS COMPIRCITV  
IANQIBALICTOPARENSETDONACVPODO  
RECIA PORTABATTYRUUSEVCELAETV CHATE  
CVRMAN TAVIARISIAMSERGINAS UPE  
ANT RACOMBOSMET CONDAMED' RACU LOC  
LAMPVRACVLA SCLANTROIA NAIVVENTUR  
CITIUS A MTEA CYLISURE QMARGINVB  
PRAEVALENTI PRAEVALENTI PRAEVALENTI

VIRGILIUS  
(4th or 5th CENTURY)

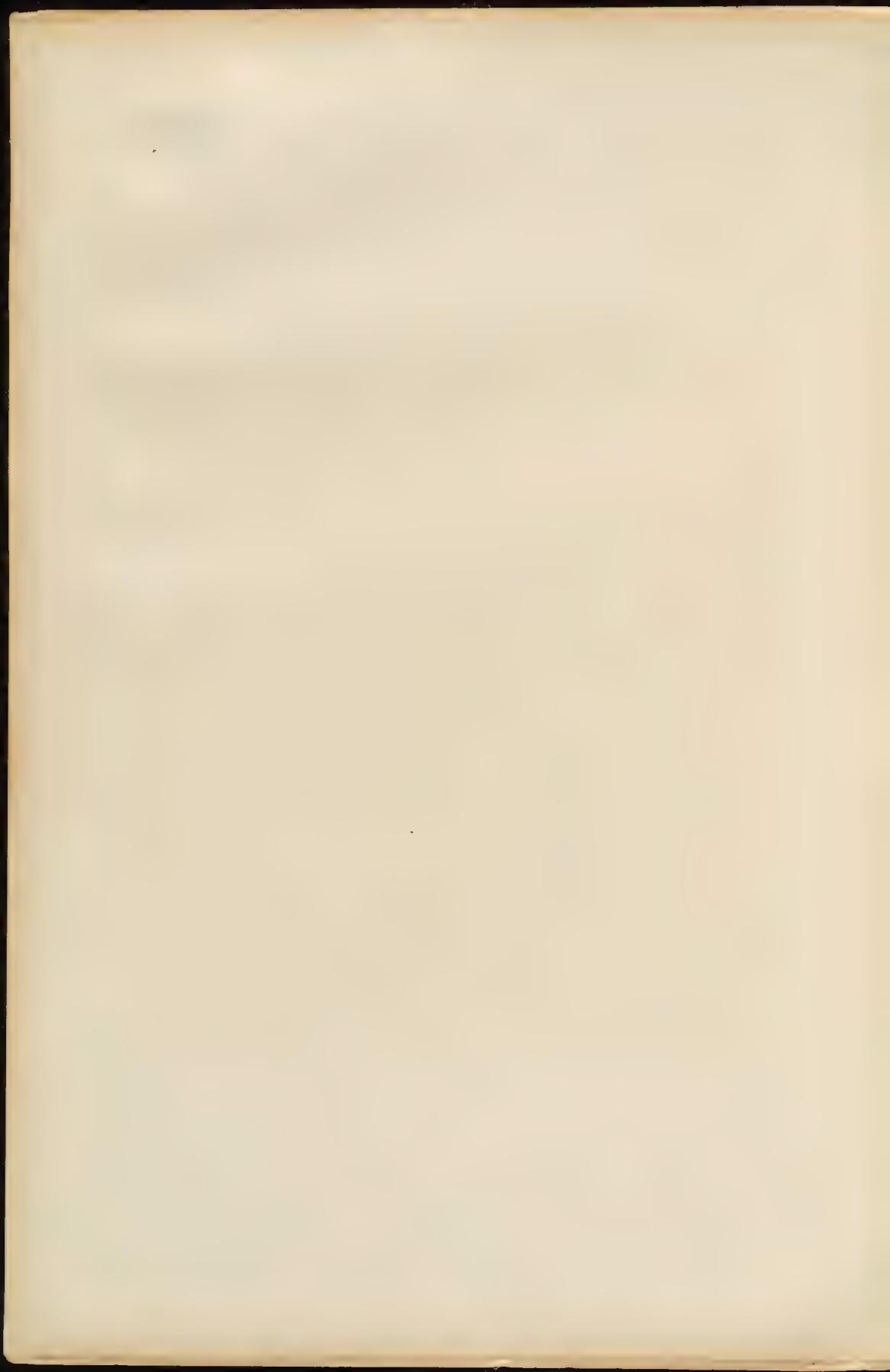


PLATE 86. IMPERIAL RESCRIPT (FIFTH CENTURY A.D.)

Leyden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

"**O**NE of the columns of writing of an imperial rescript in Latin, written on papyrus, and addressed to the Praefectus Augustalis, of the Roman Province of Egypt, in answer to a memorial against a certain Isidorus, praying for a payment of a debt, restitution of slaves, the annulment of an enforced sale, and payment of arrears of pay and fees. It appears to concern a dispute between two officials in the jurisdiction of the Thebaid, probably in the fifth century.

"The document is imperfect, in four fragments, two of which are preserved at Leyden and two at Paris. The beginning and end are wanting. The text is written stichometrically in sense lines of varying length. Fragments of a second rescript in the same handwriting, and also referring to a petition similar in character within the same jurisdiction, are preserved in the same places.

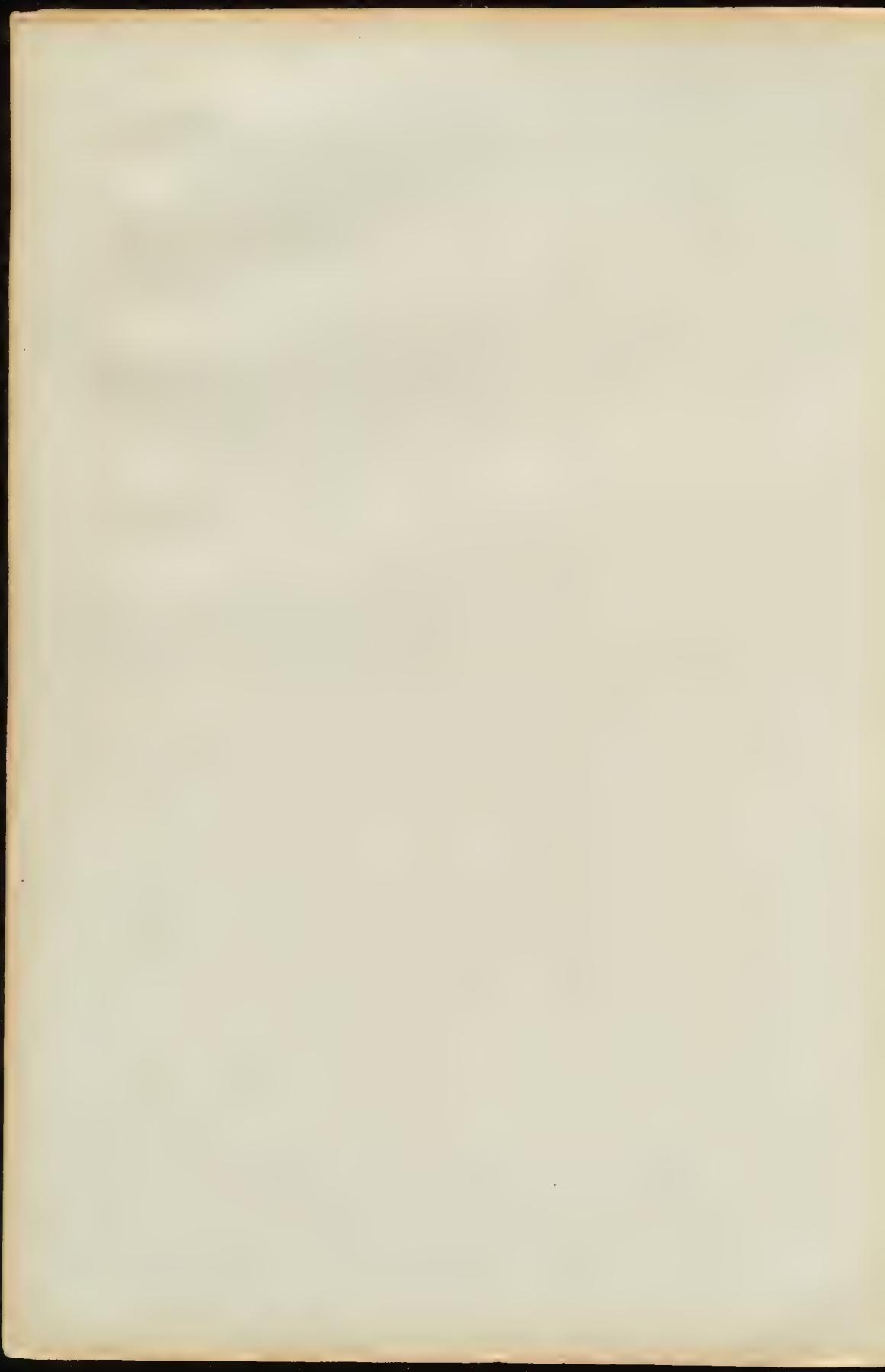
"The fragment from which the plate is taken contains the columns of writing here given and a large part of two others, and measures about 3 feet 4 inches by 12 inches. The columns in their fullest width measure about 14 inches, the spaces between them from 2 to 3 inches. The plate is on a slightly reduced scale, and on account of mechanical difficulties the photograph has been taken in two pieces.

"The fragments which are variously said to have been found at Philae and Elephantine remained for a long time undeciphered, the character in which they were written being otherwise unknown, until Massmann who had been engaged in deciphering the Dacian waxen tablets, recognized in the writing a Latin cursive hand, and published (*Libellus Aurarius*, 1840) a reading of the Leyden papyrus. This proved the character to be the style of the Roman Chancery; akin to the ordinary Roman cursive writing. The whole of the fragments were subsequently published by Natalis de Wailly, in *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal de France*, tome xv, 1842, with fac-similes; and they form the subject of a paper by Mommsen and Jaffé in the *Jahrbuch des gemeinen deutschen Rechts*, Bd. VI, 1863, in which the forms of the letters are compared with those in the waxen tablets."—*Paleographical Society*.

The writing is in a fine uniform hand, the strokes slender and sloping to the right; the average height of the letters being a little more than half an inch.

The transliteration of the first two lines is given as:

iniquos uero detentatores mancipiorum ad eum pertinentium  
portionem ipsi debitam resarcire.



IMPERIAL RESCRIPT  
(5th CENTURY)



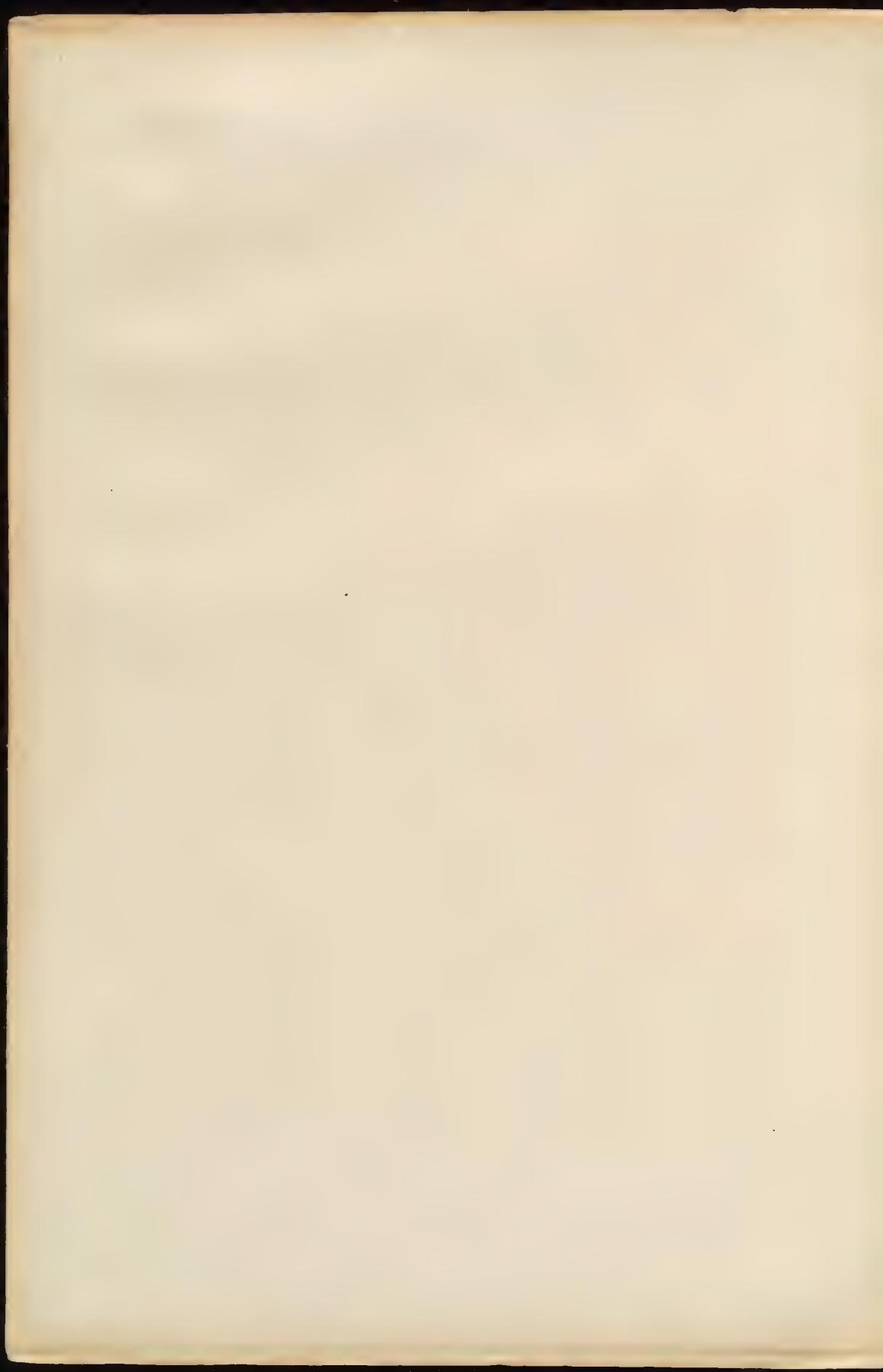


PLATE 87. TITUS LIVIUS [FIFTH CENTURY A.D.]

Vienna Hofbibliothek, Codex Lat. 15

THE first five books of the fifth decade of the Roman history of Livy. Vellum, 193 leaves, measuring 10 by 6 inches, with 29 lines in a page. Probably of the fifth century, although some authorities assign it to the sixth.

The writing is in small uncials. The first three lines of each book are in red; the colophons in red and black. The words are not separated; contractions are frequent; no points.

The plate represents the close of Book xiii, commencing :

"Con postquam profectum," and continuing to end of the Book—"erat in boetiam duxit."

The text can be easily followed on the plate, and reads as follows in translation :

The consul [Publius Licinius Crassus, 171 B.C.], hearing that Persus had left the country, marched his army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town, which, standing directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, at its entrance, serves as the safest barrier to Macedon, and renders a descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhaebia, having taken Mallea at the first assault, he demolished it; and after reducing Tripolis, and the rest of Perrhaebia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagene and his Numidiani, for the winter, in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One-half of his army he distributed through Thessaly, in such a manner that all had commodious winter quarters, and served at the same time as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius, lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Ambracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian States, except the Achaeans. With the other half of his army he marched into the Achæan Phthiotis; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. He received the voluntary surrender of Antron, and he then marched against Larissa; this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First the Macedonians, who constituted the king's garrison, withdrew through fear; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrias, or take a view of affairs in Boeotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coroneans, pressed him to go into Boeotia; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and because that country was better adapted for winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

Livy (Titus Livius), the greatest of Roman historians, was born at Padua, B.C. 59. His history of Rome, from its foundation to

the death of Drusus, B.C. 9, comprised 142 books, of which only thirty-five have come down to us. But of the whole, with the exception of two, we possess summaries by unknown compilers. The first edition of Livy was printed at Rome, in folio, about 1469. His unbounded popularity must be ascribed partly to the fascinations of his subject and his winning candor, but chiefly to his extraordinary command of his native tongue, which, in his hands, acquired a flexibility and a richness of vocabulary unknown to it before.

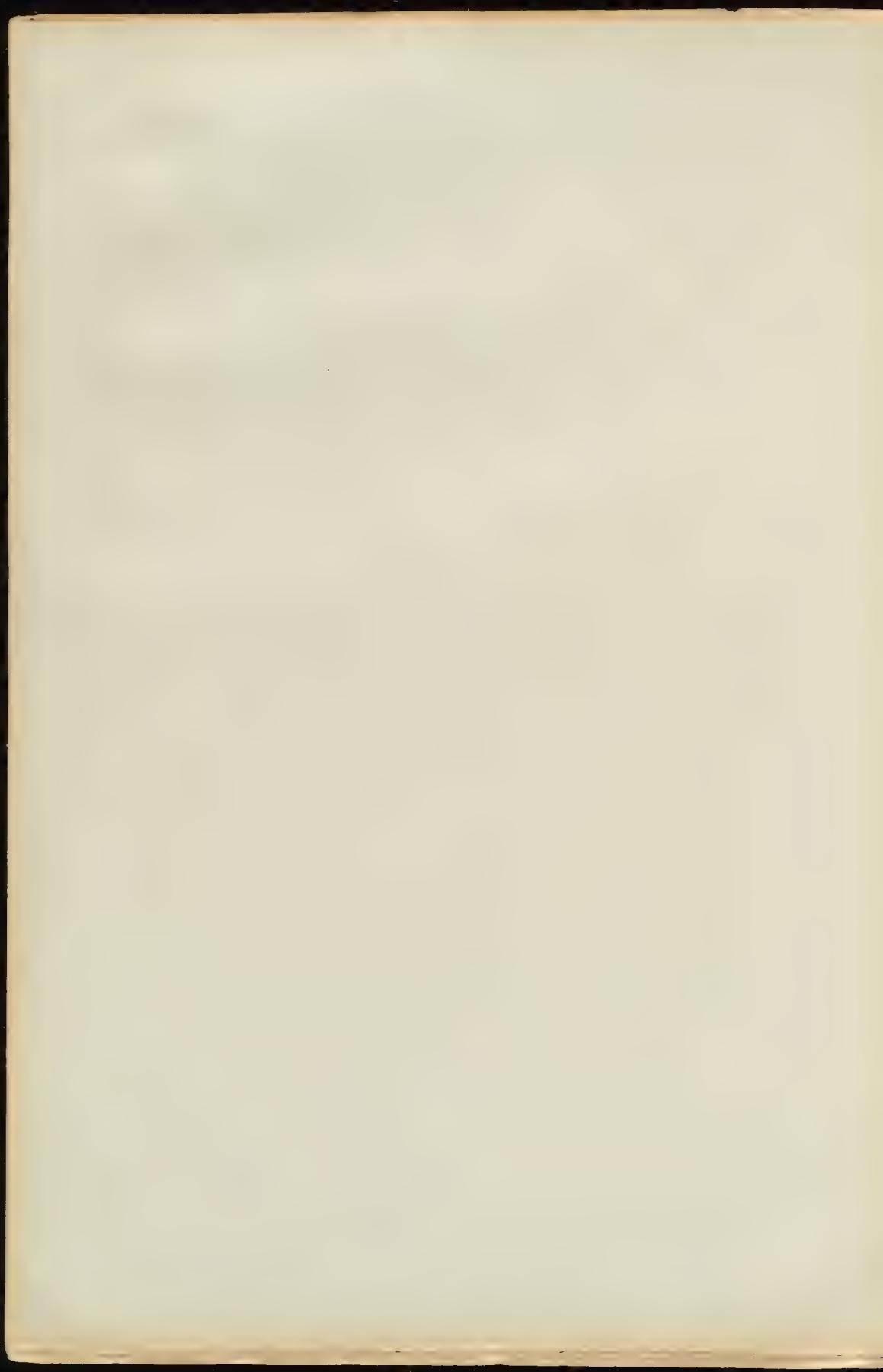
The received text of the extant thirty-five books of Livy is taken from different sources, and no one of our manuscripts contains them all. The manuscripts of the first decade, some thirty in number, are, with one exception, derived, more or less directly, from a single archetype, viz., the recension made in the fourth century by the two Nicomachi, Flavianus and Dexter, and by Victorianus. This is proved in the case of the older manuscripts by written subscriptions to that effect, and in the case of the rest by internal evidence. Of all these descendants of the Nicomachean recension, the oldest is the Codex Parisinus of the tenth century, and the best the Codex Medicus or Florentinus of the eleventh. An independent value attaches to the ancient palimpsest of Verona, of which the first complete account was given by Mommsen as recently as 1868. It contains the third, fourth, fifth and fragments of the sixth book, and, according to Mommsen, it is derived, not from the Nicomachean recension, but from an older archetype common to both.

For the third decade our chief authority is the Codex Puteanus, an uncial manuscript of the eighth century now at Paris. For the fourth we have two leading manuscripts.—Codex Bambergensis, eleventh century, and the slightly older Codex Moguntinus, which is known only through the Mainz edition of 1518-19.

What remains of the fifth decade depends on the Laurishamensis or Vindobonensis from the monastery of Lorsch, edited at Basel in 1531. It is a selection from this very old manuscript that is shown in our plate.

From the occurrence of the name of "Sutbertus episcopus de Dorostat" at the end of the volume, it has been conjectured that this manuscript belonged to the English monk Swithbert or Suerbert, one of the apostles of the Frisians, and, about the year 653, their elected bishop who ministered at Dorostadium or Dorostat, the modern Wijk bij Duurstede, on the Rhine, in the province of Utrecht. On the dispersion of his church by the invading tribes, he found an asylum under the protection of Pepin in Kaiserwerth, an island of the Rhine below Düsseldorf, where he founded a monastery, and died in the year 713.

As late as the sixteenth century the MS. belonged to the monastery of Lauresheim or Lorsch, not far from the Rhine in Darmstadt. It came to the Imperial Library of Vienna in 1806 as part of the collection formed at the Castle of Ambras, near Innsbruck, by the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, in the seventeenth century.



Con postquam proiecione per personam  
dicitur de omnibus modis quoniam est ratio  
metuorum operosorum et ante ipsam memorem in his  
cibus utrumque condonare ex iustitia  
tutissimam aprobatur et inesse nullum  
opportunitatem esse donec audiretur  
summa cum et loco et tempore oportet  
explicari ab illo res esse ex auctoritate  
tutoris per remittendam leximini et dicitur  
laesam cum omni intentio in causa reprobata  
potest et ut te etiam responsum in causa  
reditus de causis hec aquiliter sint  
comprehensae, non obstat enim  
quod hinc etiam processus respondeat  
liberaliter debet et partim ex exercitu  
in causa potest esse et non ut sit inter  
debet et committit et non ut sit  
ex parte et libenter et non ut sit  
libenter cum dubius est vel non est  
sed ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
terram et locum in causa et non ut sit  
nisi probetur in causa et non ut sit  
et non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
et non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
lumen et color et non ut sit et non ut sit  
et non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
et non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
et non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit  
et non ut sit et non ut sit et non ut sit

*Nec fidei turpissima omnia videntur  
nec regi juniperis si omnes erent  
separari quis felicitatem possit inde  
tione metu et implorante dubitare  
inde utrumque metu posse resuere  
et nichil ad orationem boetiam insipient  
debet esse quiescantibus eius coro  
ne exinde oportet in processione thoro  
processus unius habens aperte regio quas  
magister generat in loco datus.*

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TITUS LIVIUS  
(5th CENTURY)

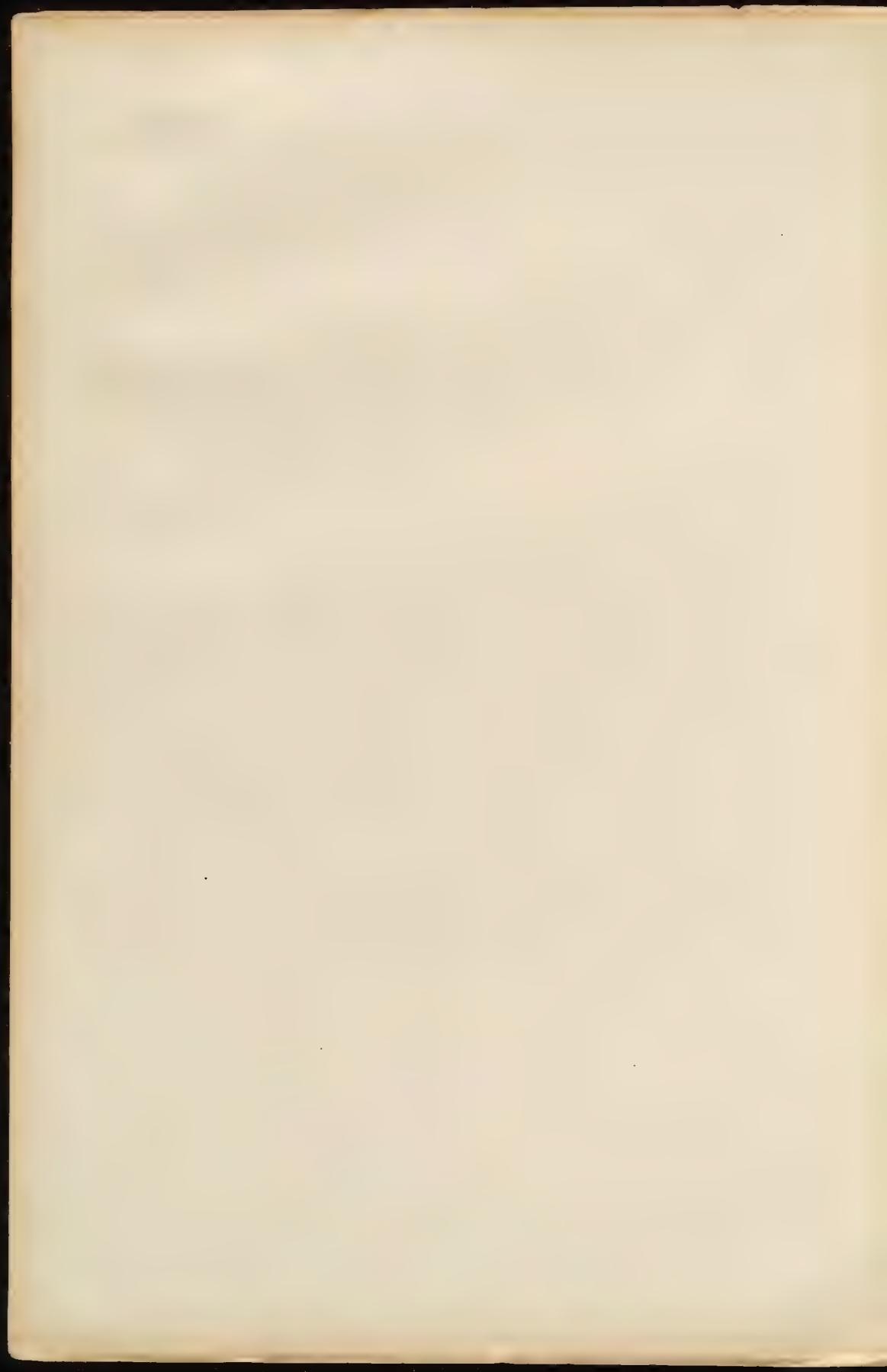


PLATE 88. S. HILARY DE TRINITATE (SIXTH  
CENTURY A.D.)

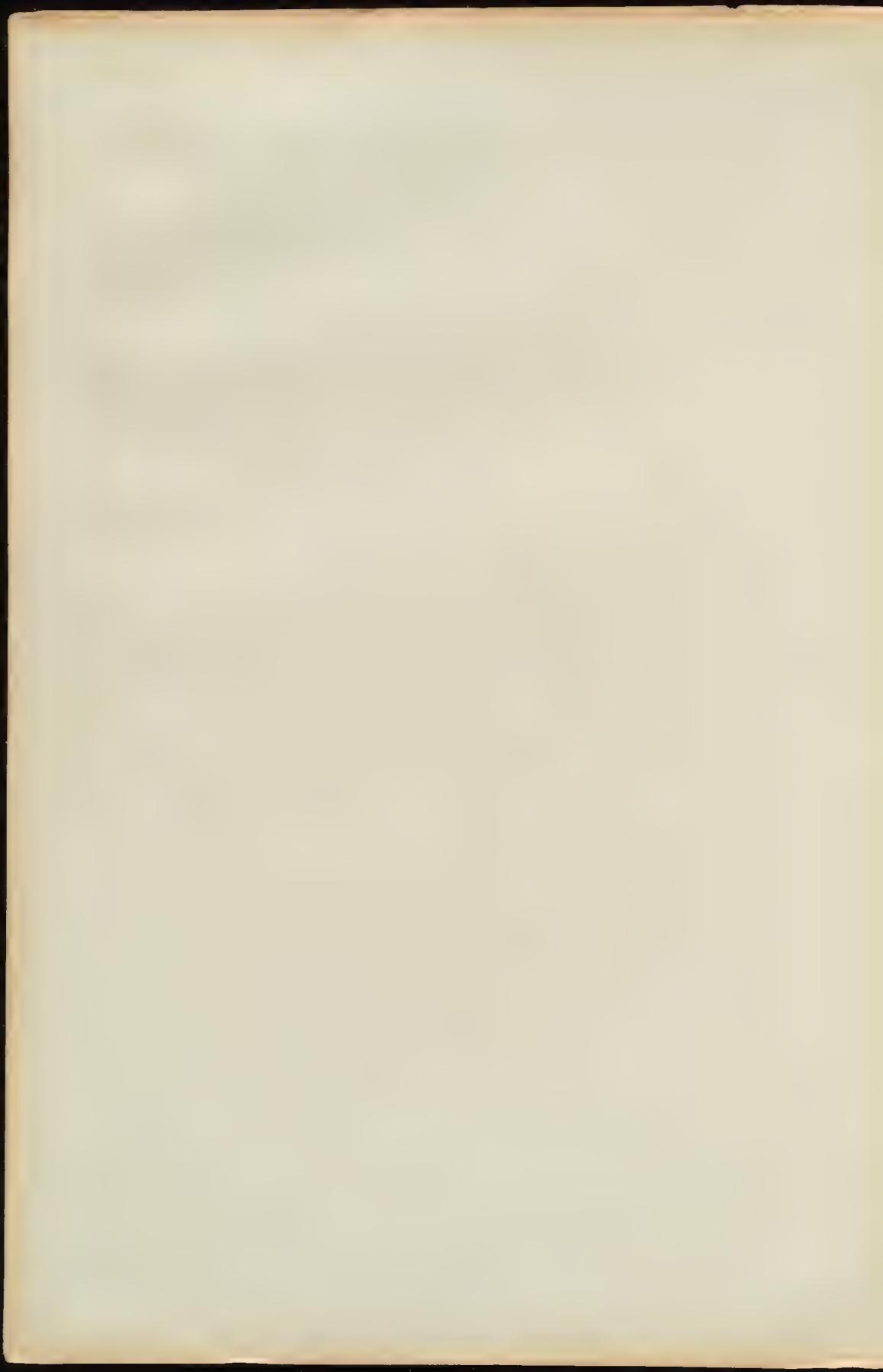
Vienna Hofbibliothek, Cod. Lat. No. 2160

THIS plate represents a portion of Book II of the *de Trinitate* of S. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. The whole work is contained in 101 leaves, papyrus, measuring 11 by 8 inches; with from 30 to 33 lines in a page. The date of writing of the book is probably in the sixth century. At the end of Book III is a note written in a cursive hand, "Dulcitus Aquini legebam," showing that the MS. was read, probably not long after it was written, at Aquinum in Latiun. The long marginal note shown in the plate is in the hand of Dulcitus.

The writing is in half uncials or early minuscules without separation of words, and most of the letters are in the form of minuscules. The longer marginal note is written in the half-cursive uncials in which such annotations frequently appear. We may notice the long descending first strokes of *m*, *n*, and *r*. Contractions are employed for the sacred names and titles. The final *m* at the end of a line is sometimes omitted. Quotations are marked by an arrow head in the margin, and for punctuation the middle point is ordinarily used. To indicate a long pause, a space is left with or without a point. The first two lines of the plate are as follows:

Constitisse caecos lumen recep (isse)  
caecum ab utero oculos consecutum.

S. Hilary is chiefly known in England as sponsor to the legal institution known as Hilary Term, which begins January 11th and ends January 31st, derived from the Saint's death day being on January 13th. He was born of pagan parents early in the fourth century, and died in 367. His writings are mainly concerned with the Arian controversy, and the most important of them forms the subject of the plate. This volume, indeed, was the first Latin work in theology of any literary pretensions, Greek having till then been the vehicle of Christian thought.





S. HILARY DE TRINITATE  
(6th CENTURY)

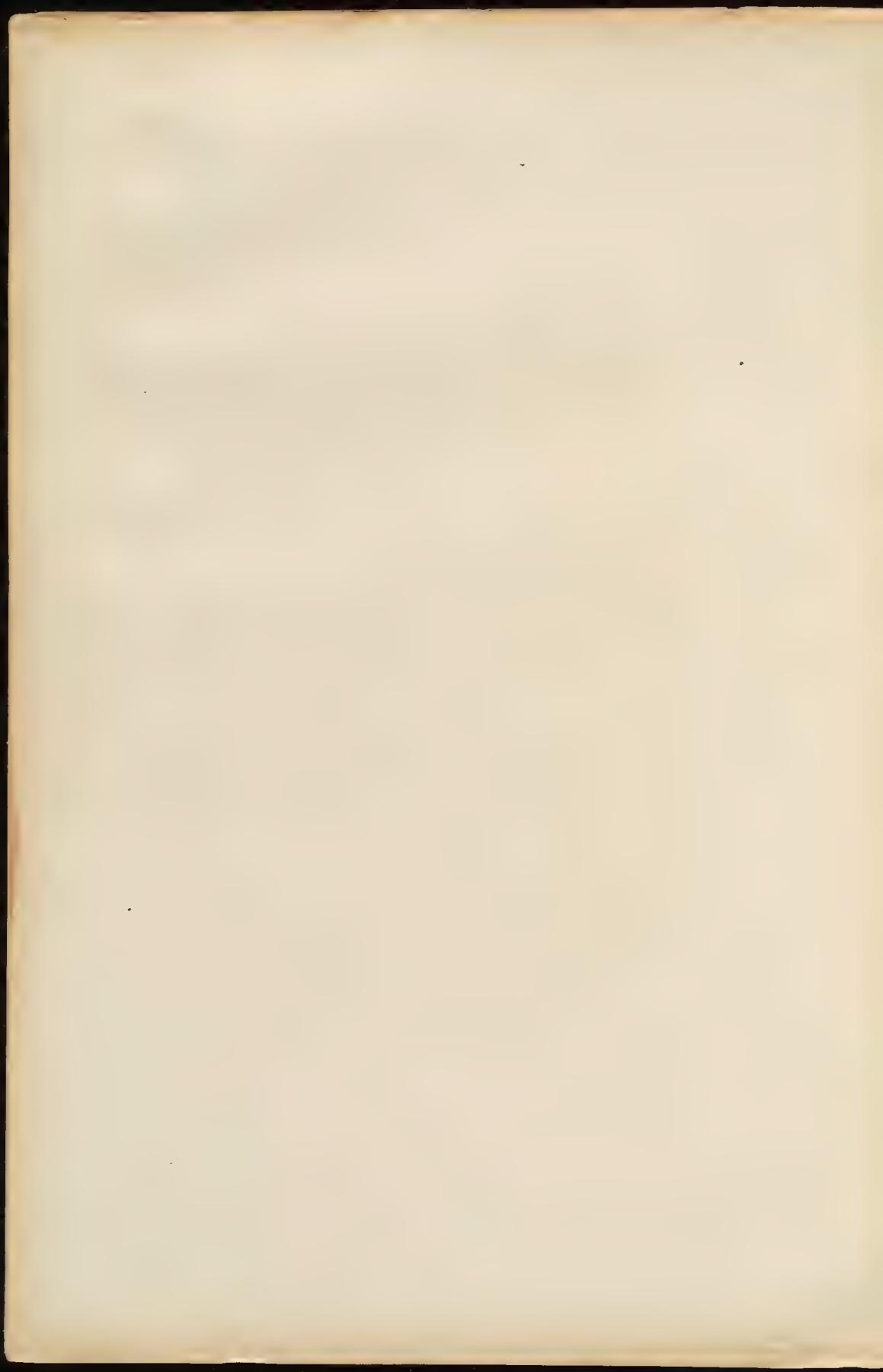


PLATE 89. ST. JEROME'S CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS,  
SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

Oxford Bodleian Library, Manuscript, Ant. I, 2, 26

**T**HE *Chronicle of Eusebius* as translated into Latin and edited by St. Jerome (wanting the first three quires and the last leaf), followed by the chronicle of Marcellinus.

Thin vellum, 178 leaves (of which 32 are supplied in a French hand of the fifteenth century), measuring 7½ by 9¾ inches; with 30 lines in a page. Written in the sixth century.

Uncial characters are employed. The St. Jerome is in two hands, the one occupying quires 4-9 being in small letters, the other in larger letters, both, however, of the same character and age—the writing of the Marcellinus is rather later. The dates are sometimes in red, sometimes in black ink. Corrections and marginal notes in the St. Jerome are in sloping uncials, as are the chronological memoranda written on f. 145, the leaf between the two chronicles. Notes by a hand of the fifteenth century have been added throughout the volume.

The letters in the St. Jerome are generally well-shaped and uniform, written by an expert scribe. We find the unusual method of abbreviation of the termination *bus* by placing a dot above, instead of at the side of, the bow of the *b*.

The manuscript, a portion of which is represented in the plate, belonged to the Abbey of Clermont, in France, and subsequently formed part of the Meermann collection of manuscripts, whence it passed into the Bodleian Library in 1824. A description of the volume is given by Professor Mommsen in *Die älteste Handschrift der Chronik des Hieronymus*, in *Hermes*, vol. xxiv, 1889.

St. Jerome, one of the most erudite of the Fathers of the Church, was born in Dalmatia between 340 and 346 A.D.; he died at Bethlehem in 420. He began his ascetic life in the desert of Chalcis about the year 373.

St. Jerome translated the history of Eusebius into Latin. He made a few friends and many enemies, as much by his erudite publications as by his propaganda in favor of asceticism. Many women of the most patrician families gathered round him. To these he expounded the Scriptures, but more especially did he try to enthuse them with his ascetic principles, which he summed up in a furious diatribe against the married state, *de Custodia Virginitatis*. These events occurred when he was in Rome, acting as secretary to Pope Damasus, on the death of which pontiff, Jerome retired to Bethlehem, followed by many of his fair pupils, who founded a religious house near his cell. His influence over these ladies caused their relations much anxiety. The many letters he left addressed to them give a vivid picture of Roman society of the fourth century. His numerous commentaries upon Biblical writings are claimed to be rather the compilations of the opinions of others. The passions of the world, the religious strife, the austereities of his desert life, fired St. Jerome's imagination, giving his work a striking and original eloquence. This is most characteristic in his version of the Scriptures which he calls the *Vulgate*. He has left many letters, biographies of saints, and discussions and reflections upon the Bible.

The *Chronicle of Eusebius* is an epitome of world history down to the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine. It is of great value in helping to clear up the chronology of ancient history.



ST. JEROME'S CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS  
(6th CENTURY)



PLATE 90. GRANT TO THE CHURCH OF RAVENNA,  
SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

Library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres

**T**HIS interesting document shows a portion of a grant from Johannes, Primicerius or captain of a company of soldiers, to the Church of Ravenna, with the attestations of six witnesses: written on papyrus probably early in the seventh century. The deed is imperfect, having lost both beginning and end. It has been in the form of a roll, and now measures 5 feet 4 inches by 11½ inches. It was formerly in the Museum of the Institute at Bologna, and its history is related by Marini in *I Papiri Diplomatici*, Rome, 1805, page 139.

The writing is Roman cursive of medium size. The forms of the letters are usually liable to modification when joined with other letters, but *b*, *d*, *h*, *i*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q*, *w*, *x*, are not joined to following letters; and *g* is more flourished when joined with other letters; *p* is sickle-shaped when joined to a preceding letter.

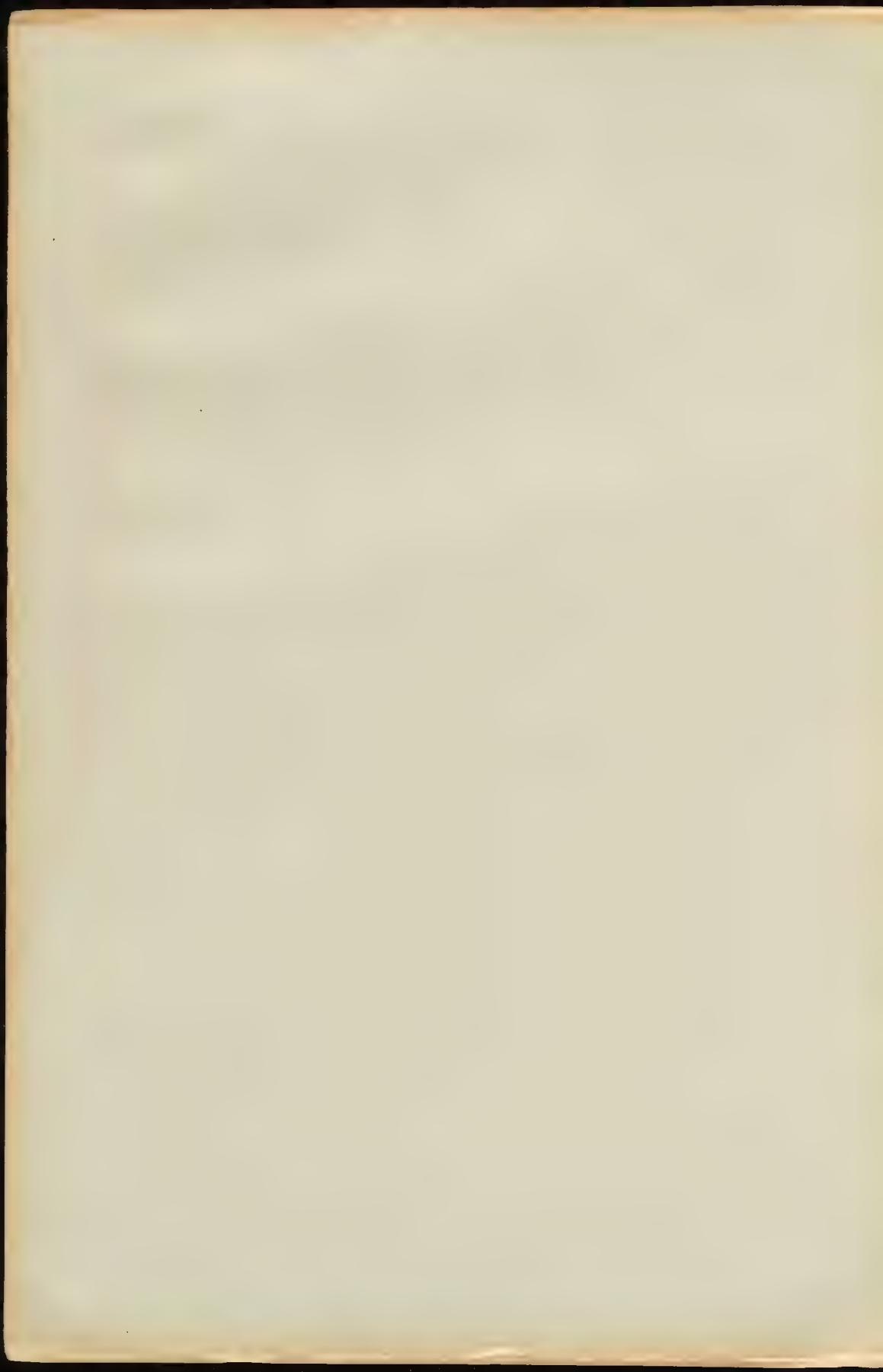
The plate begins thus :

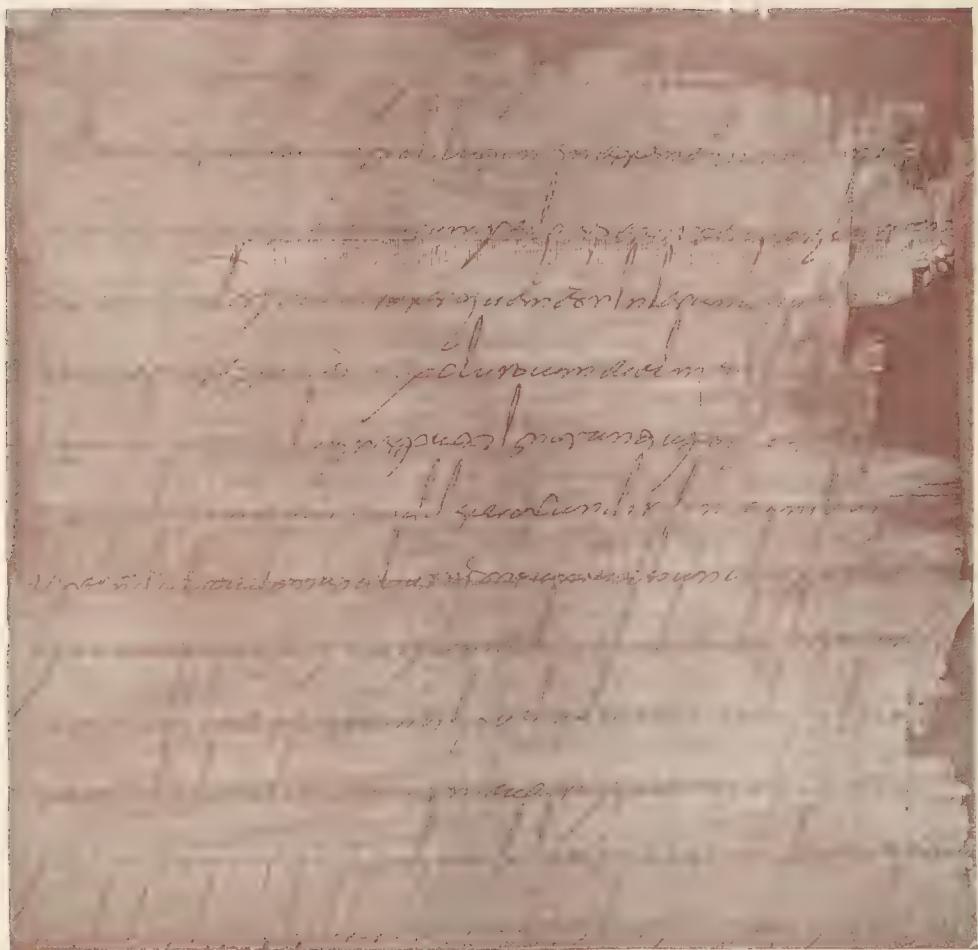
Mobile et immobile seseque mouentibus sicut superius legit (ur)  
absque ullo colum vim metu et circumscribitione cassan (te).

A tradition mentioned by Strabo runs to the effect that Ravenna was founded by Thessalians, who afterwards being attacked by the Etrurians, called in their Umbrian neighbors, whom they eventually left in possession. In 191 B.C., it passed under the dominion of Rome. The historical importance of Ravenna began early in the fifth century, when Honorius transferred his court there. From then on, to the fall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D., Ravenna was the chief residence of the Roman emperors.

In 1320 Dante died and was buried there.

The one transcendent interest of Ravenna to a modern traveller consists in its churches. No other city in the world offers so many and such striking examples of the ecclesiastical architecture of the centuries from the fourth to the eighth. "Unattractive without," says Professor Edward Augustus Freeman, in his essay on the *Goths in Ravenna*, "they are emphatically all glorious within. The eye dwells with genuine artistic delight on the long unbroken rows of pillars and arches, their marble shafts, their fluted capitals, sometimes the work of the Christian craftsman, sometimes the spoils of heathendom pressed into the service of the sanctuary. . . . The whole plan of these buildings allows a great field for void spaces; but the void spaces thus left are filled up by these wonderful mosaic paintings which look down upon us as fresh as they were thirteen hundred years back."





GRANT TO THE CHURCH OF RAVENNA  
(7th CENTURY)

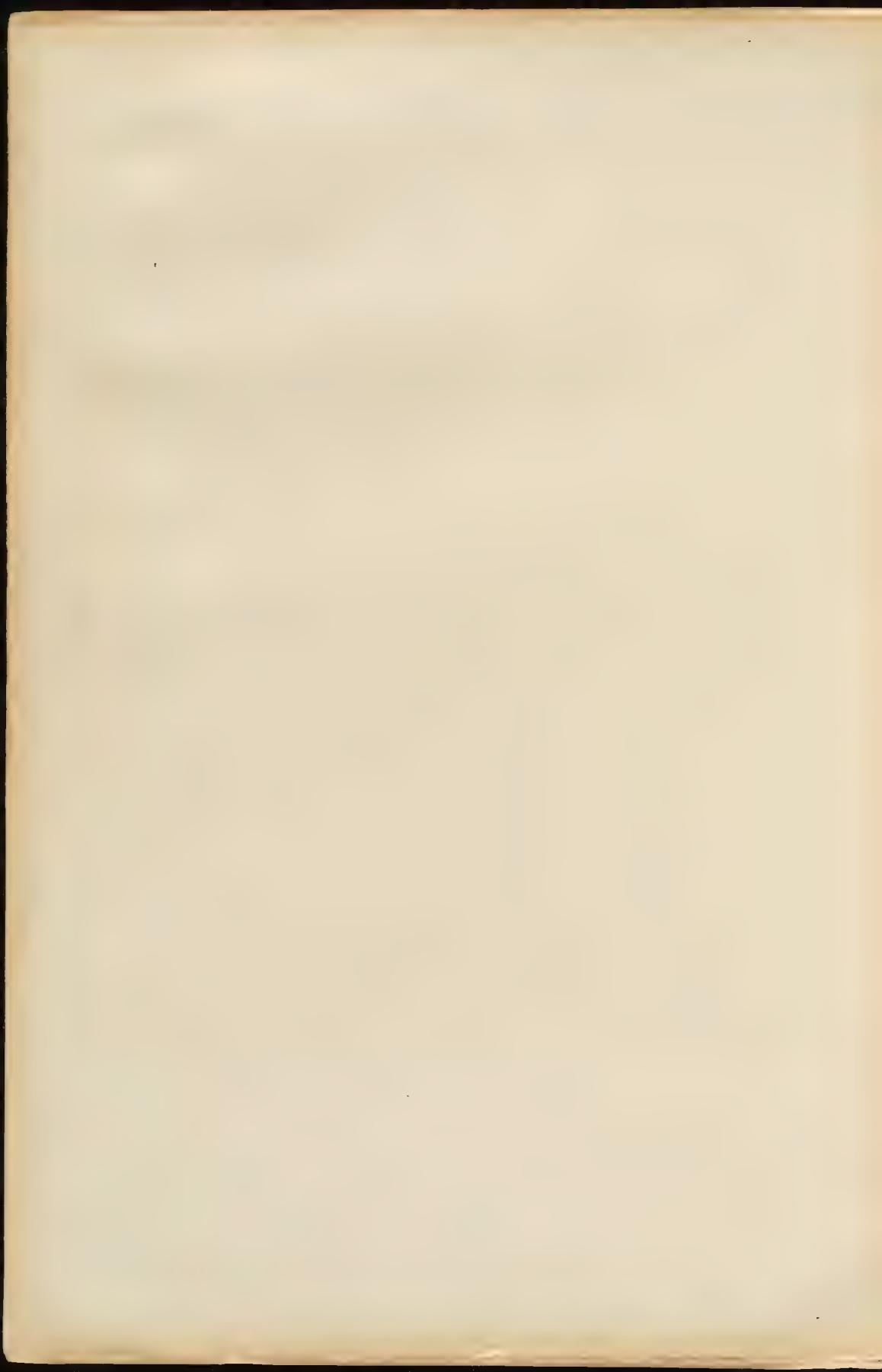


PLATE 90a. GRANT TO THE CHURCH OF RAVENNA,  
SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

Library of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres

THE attestations of the second and third witnesses to the grant  
of the Church of Ravenna already described.

The attestation of Marinos Chrusokatalaktis is an interesting instance of Latin written in Greek characters, which, though not free from faults, gives a key to the pronunciation of Latin in Northern Italy at the period. The writing is in a mixture of uncial and minuscule forms. The tall *u*-shaped *bela*, and the *n*-shaped *nu* will be observed. In the Roman cursive writing of the third attestation there is nothing specially requiring notice, except the *a*-shaped *o* which sometimes occurs, and the form of *t* in the word *et*, in which the crossbar is represented by a flourish above the line.

The text of the plate commences :

+ anastasius vir honestus excabiss' huic chartule usufructuariae  
donationis subscript (arum sex)  
uneciarum principalium inn integro supernuminate totius suptant  
(ie mibile)

The Greek characters begin thus :

+ μαρίος χρυσοκαταλάκτις σεβε  
χρυσόλιθον φωτισμόν  
κατέναιον στηρίγματος τριπλή γραφα μηδ  
συνεκερούσα προστάτου αντερ .



GRANT TO THE CHURCH OF RAVENNA  
(7th CENTURY)

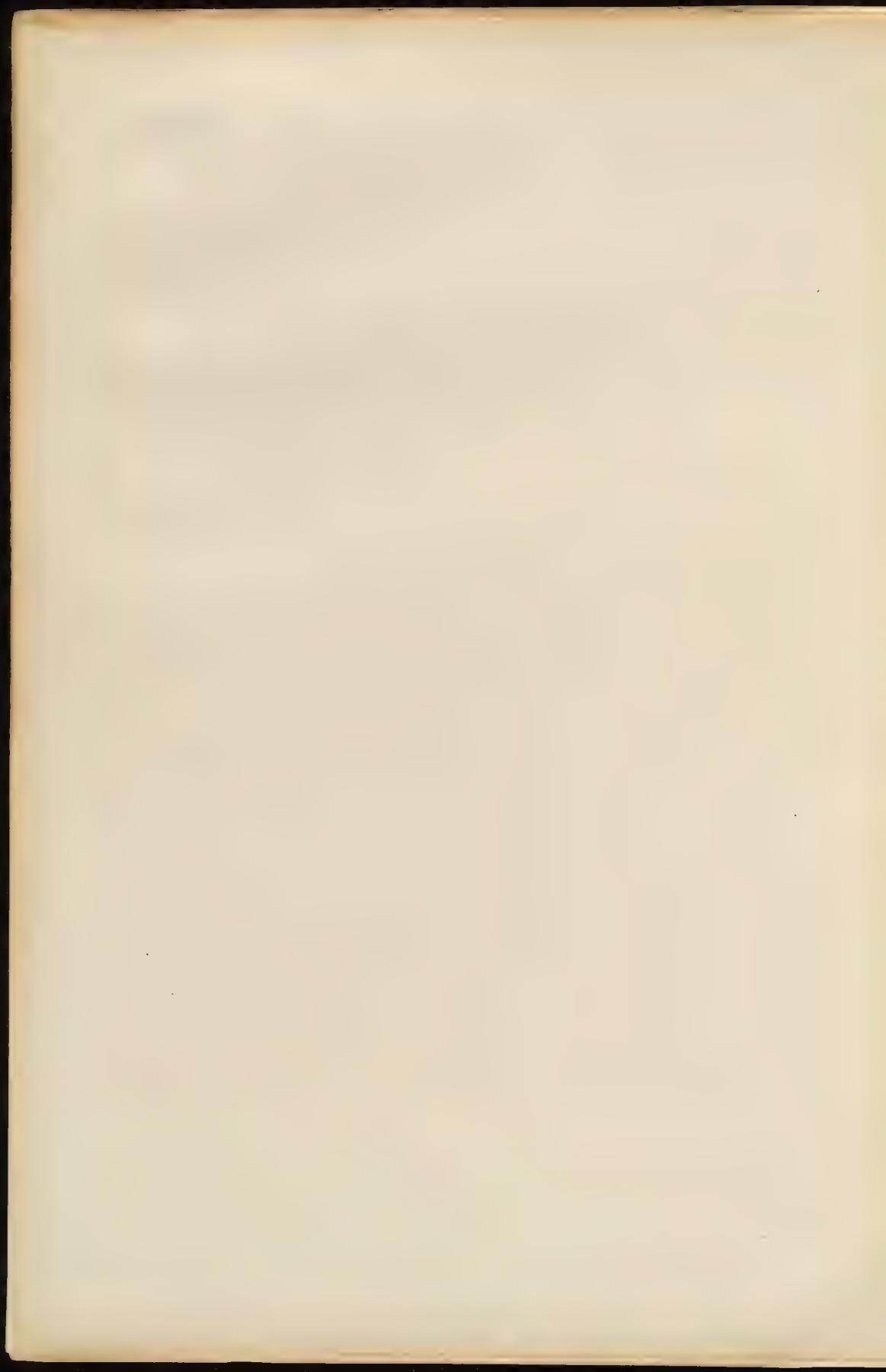
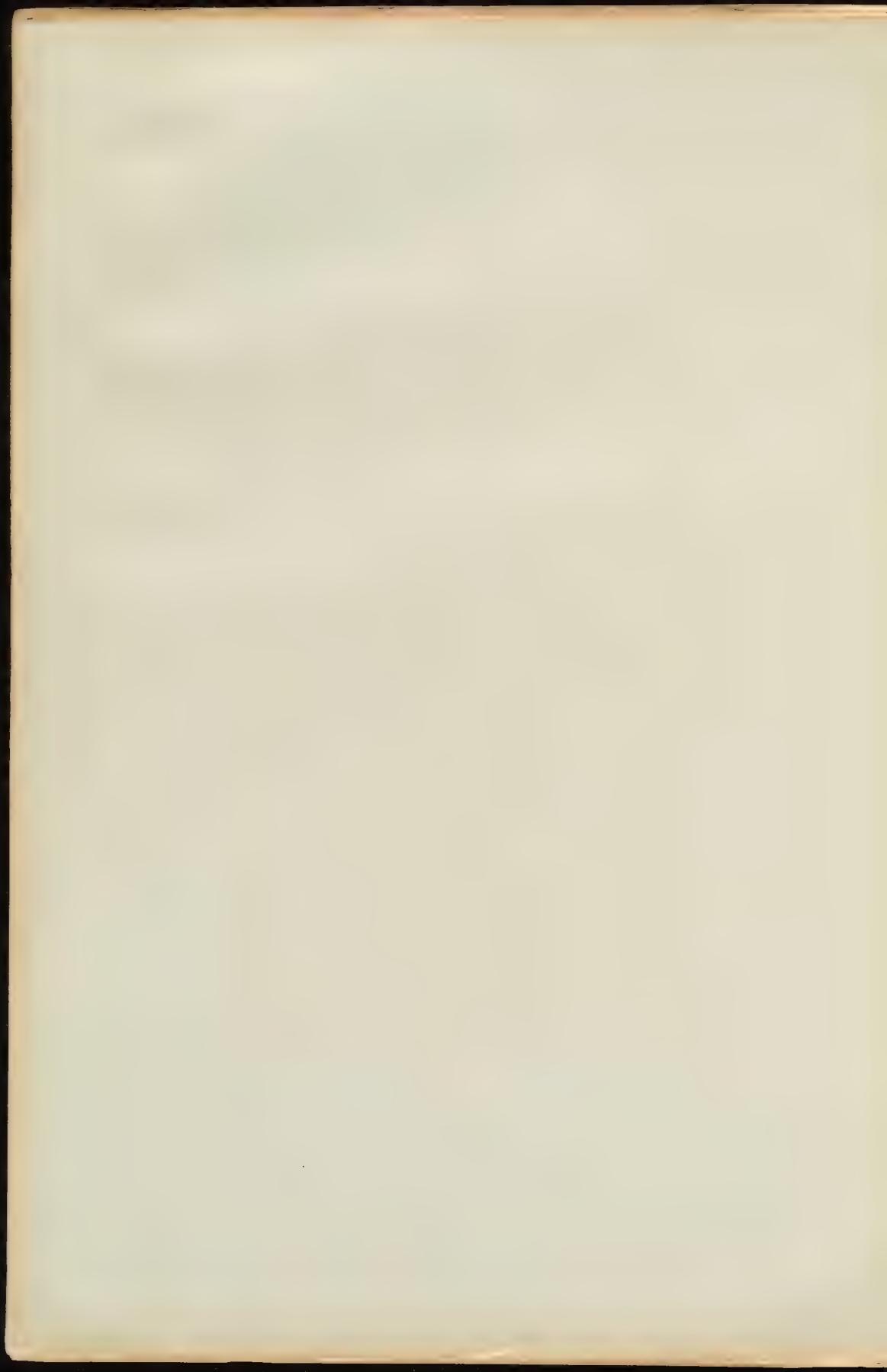


PLATE 91. GREEK-LATIN GLOSSARY, SEVENTH  
CENTURY A.D.

British Museum, Harley MS. No. 5,792

THE plate represents a leaf from a Greek-Latin Glossary, of vellum; 277 leaves, measuring  $11\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with from 34 to 38 lines in a page. From the incomplete form in which many of the words appear, it is evident that the archetype has suffered injury; and the outlines of the lacunes seem to indicate that the defects were caused by holes in the material rather than by mere illegibility of writing. It may therefore be conjectured that the original manuscript was written on papyrus, the brittle substance of which would be liable to contract such damage as can be traced by the imperfections of this copy. The present manuscript was written probably in France in the seventh century.

The writing is in uncials; the words rarely separated when more than one in the column, but occasionally marked off from one another by a commissum above. Stoppa seldom occur except where the Greek word runs up to its Latin equivalent, when they are separated by a middle point, comma, or colon. No accents or breathings are used, and contractions are not common. The letters are heavily and solidly formed; both Greek and Latin being by the same hand. Uniformity of size is usually maintained in the Greek; *M* sinks in the centre in a curve. In the Latin text we notice the large bows of *B*, *P*, and *R*; and that *L* is tall, and its horizontal sometimes rather long: the outer strokes of *M* are sometimes curved so much inwards as to close. Corrections are expressed by a dot over and below the letter to be omitted; and insertions marked by *hd*, *hp*. The ornamentation consists of a line of cable pattern or other design, separating the several divisions of the alphabet.



πεφ	deca	radest
πεφι	medicx	tus
πεφι	ruacata	peruul.cata
πεφι	politus	
πεφι	reius	
πεφ		tus
πεφ	squalentussqualidus	
πεφο	nustus	
πεφ.	abutinio	munitus
πεφροντιчено	accuratus	
πεфротилено	rridus	
πεфротилено	molia	
πεфукюс	natus	
πεфулагчено	caute-	
πεфусилено	tumidus	
πεфутеулено	plantatus	
πиганон	haec rura	
πирн	pons	
πиғни мон	conspicuum	
πиғна	conspicuum	
πиғнүллә	bactericor	
πиғнүллә	ribo celo	
πидајлон	subenaculum	
πианца	serraculum	
πиантичес	saltrus	
πиаш	peditio saltuosa	
πиистос	salio	
πидашкоіхвуд	fixuscelatus	
πиликос	pedamyc' baroda	
πиликосанпote	quantas	
πилинс	quantuscumque	
πилив	Luteus	
πилив	pilleum	
πилюс	arcilla hoelutum	

GREEK-LATIN GLOSSARY

(7th CENTURY)

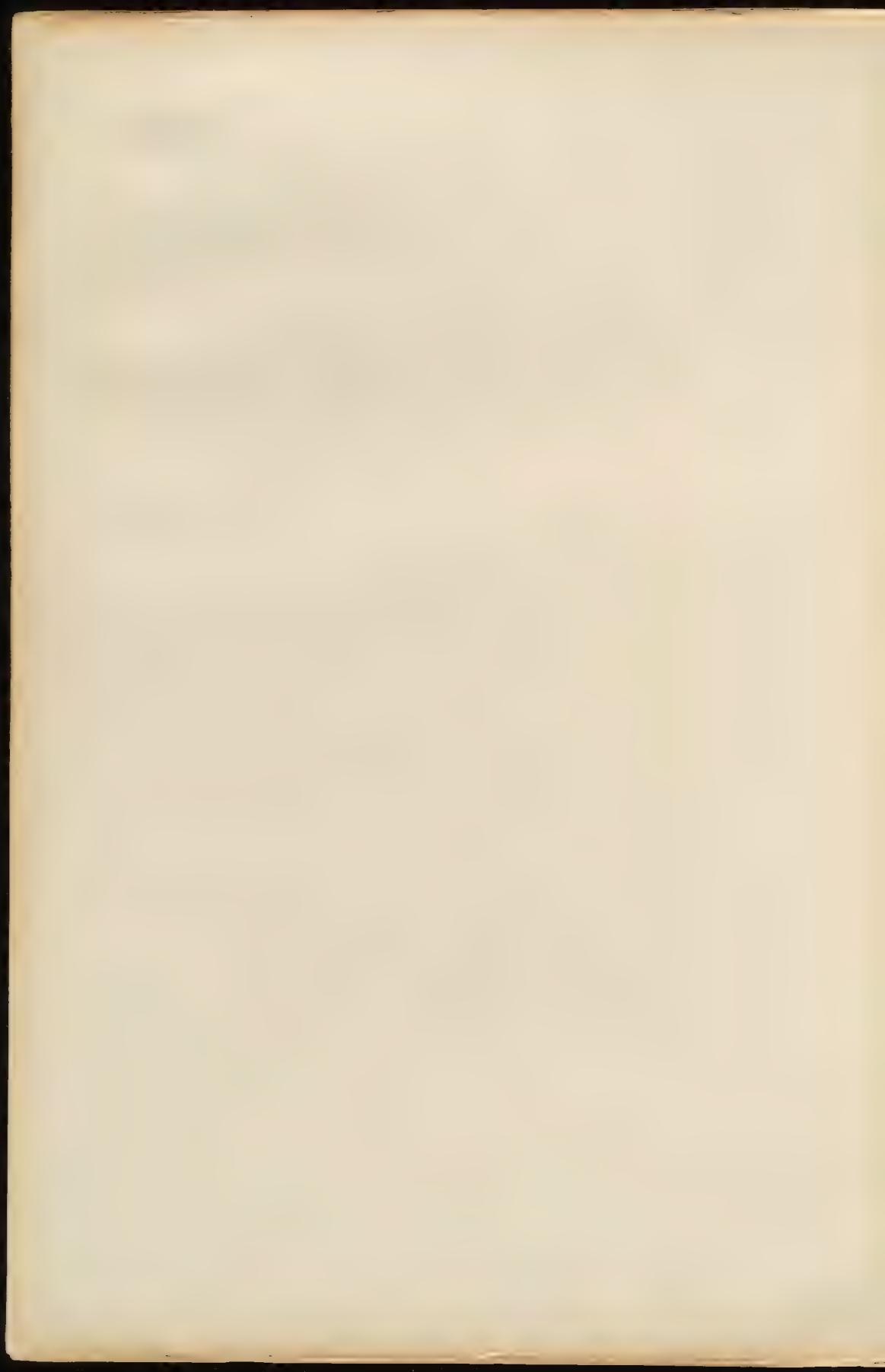


PLATE 92. POPE GREGORY'S MORALIA (SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.)

British Museum, Additional MS. No. 11,878

**T**HE twenty-third, and part of the twenty-fourth books of Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia*, a commentary on the Book of Job. Fine vellum, 78 leaves, measuring 8 by 5½ inches; with 18 lines in a space. Probably late seventh century.

From the library of Doctor Samuel Butler, Bishop of Lichfield.

The writing is in Merovingian minuscules, with the exception of the first page, which is in small uncials. The words are but partially separated. Owing to the thinness of the vellum, the ink, which is of a light brown tint, has in some places partially soaked through; this possibly being the reason that the last page has been left blank. Contractions of the sacred names and titles, and one or two ordinary words and terminations are employed. Pauses are here usually indicated by spaces, with occasionally a middle point or comma as a final stop. The quotations are marked by the marginal signs V V. This style of hand being directly taken from the cursive, we may note the same changes as there seen in the forms of letters under various conditions. The titles and lines of the two books are in large capitals in red and green, and these same colors are frequently used for the large uncial letters at the beginning of sentences. The title of Book xxiii in slender ornamental characters, and enclosed within a roughly designed border of interlaced pattern, touched with green, pale brown and red, fills the whole page, as does the initial P of Book xxii, this last being filled with a scroll-pattern drawn in outline.

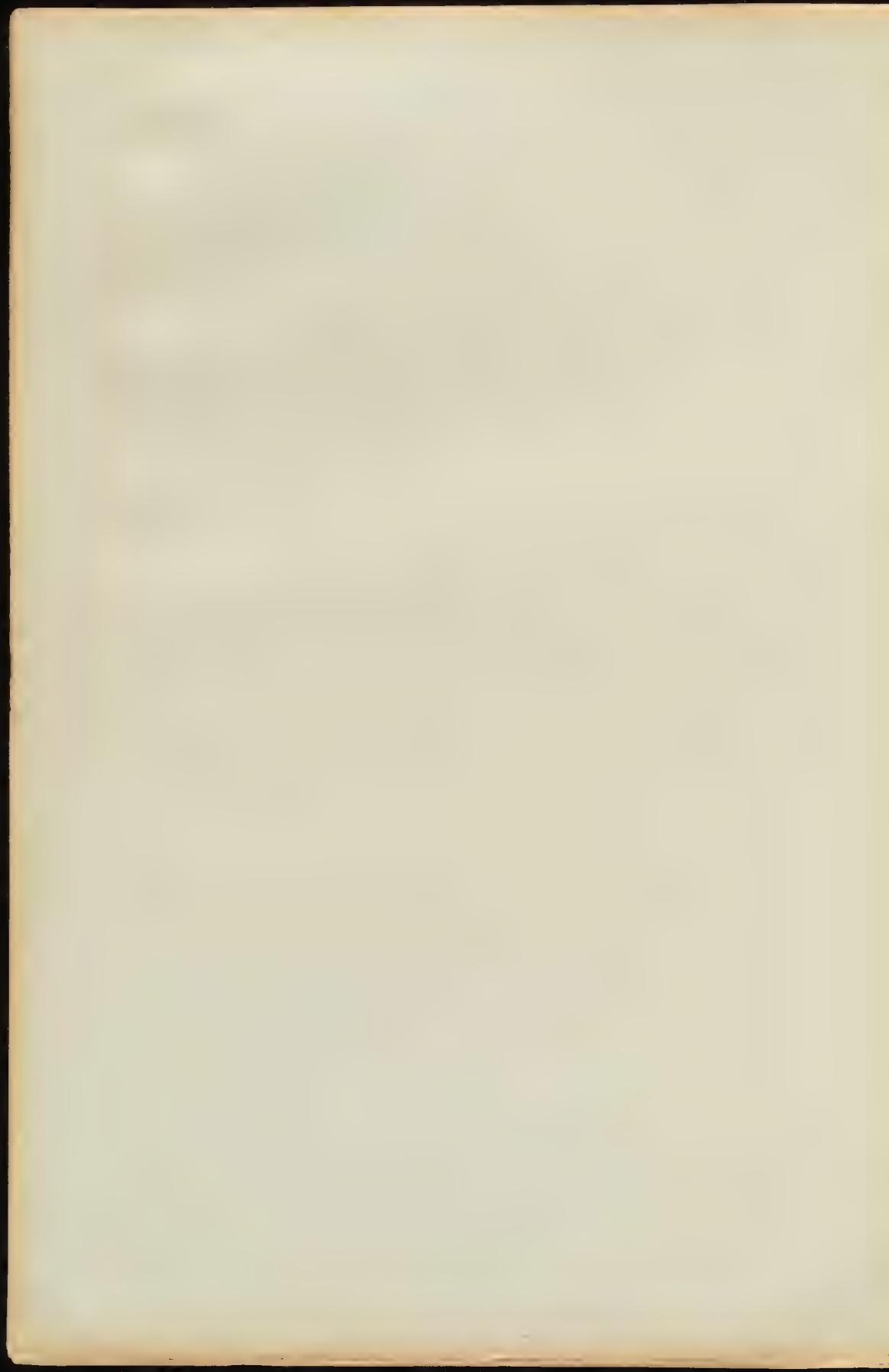
The first two lines of the selection shown in the plate are from Lib. xxiii, cap. xxi, and read:

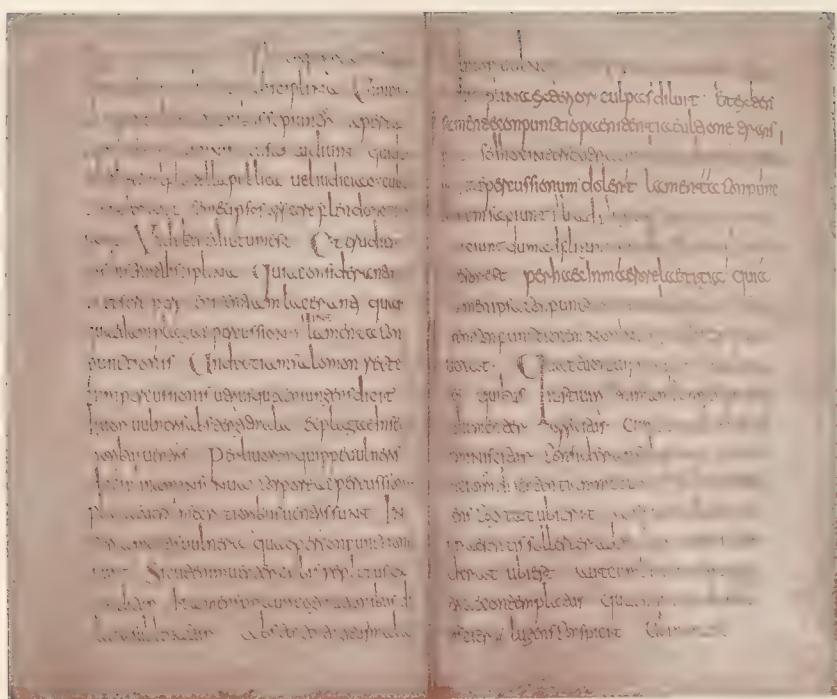
V V APTE SUBIUNGIT, Tunc aperiet aures viorum.  
V V et erudiens eos instruit disciplina. Cum enim.

The *Moralia*, written by St. Gregory, surnamed the Great, is one of his largest works; it is an exposition of the Book of Job, and was composed between 580 and 590 A.D.

Pope Gregory's *Moralia* contains many remarks on moral application, from whence comes its name; it also fully displays the mind and character of its author. This work proves his long-continued self-discipline, and a close observation of the innermost workings of his mind and heart. Pope Gregory, desiring to devote himself entirely to religion, gave up a considerable portion of his wealth to the founding of six monasteries in Sicily, and one in Rome. He retired to this last, and became a Benedictine monk. He was, however, called from this retirement and sent by Pope Pelagius (or his predecessor), as his Apocrisiarius, or representative, to the Emperor Tiberius at Rome, and he refers to this period of his life in the opening of his *Moralia*.

The chief characteristic of his teaching in this particular work is his assertion of inherent goodness in the saints and his positive acknowledgment and strict investigation of sin even in the holiest of mere men.





POPE GREGORY'S MORALIA

(7th CENTURY)

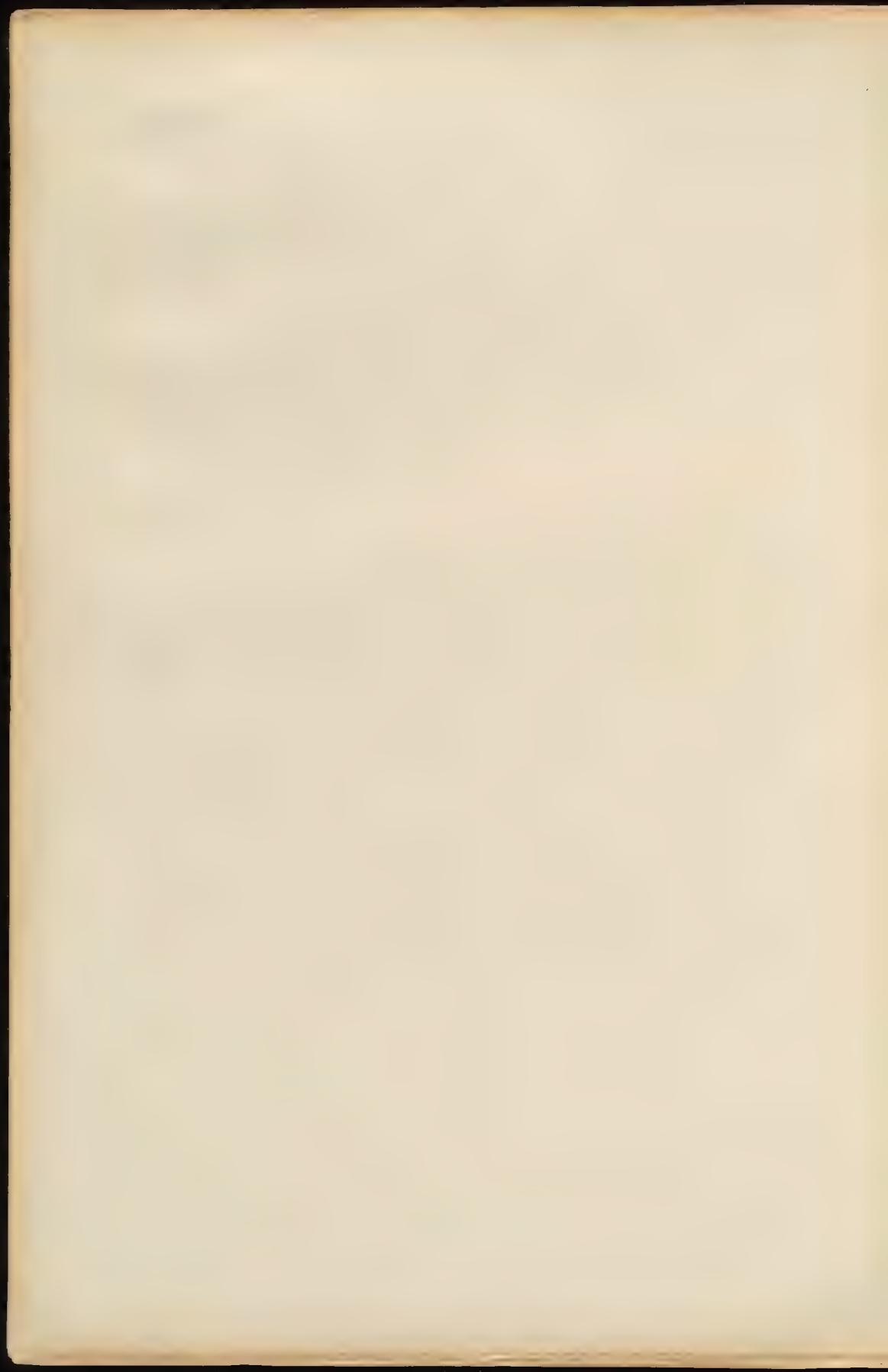


PLATE 93. SPECULUM OF S. AUGUSTINE,  
SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

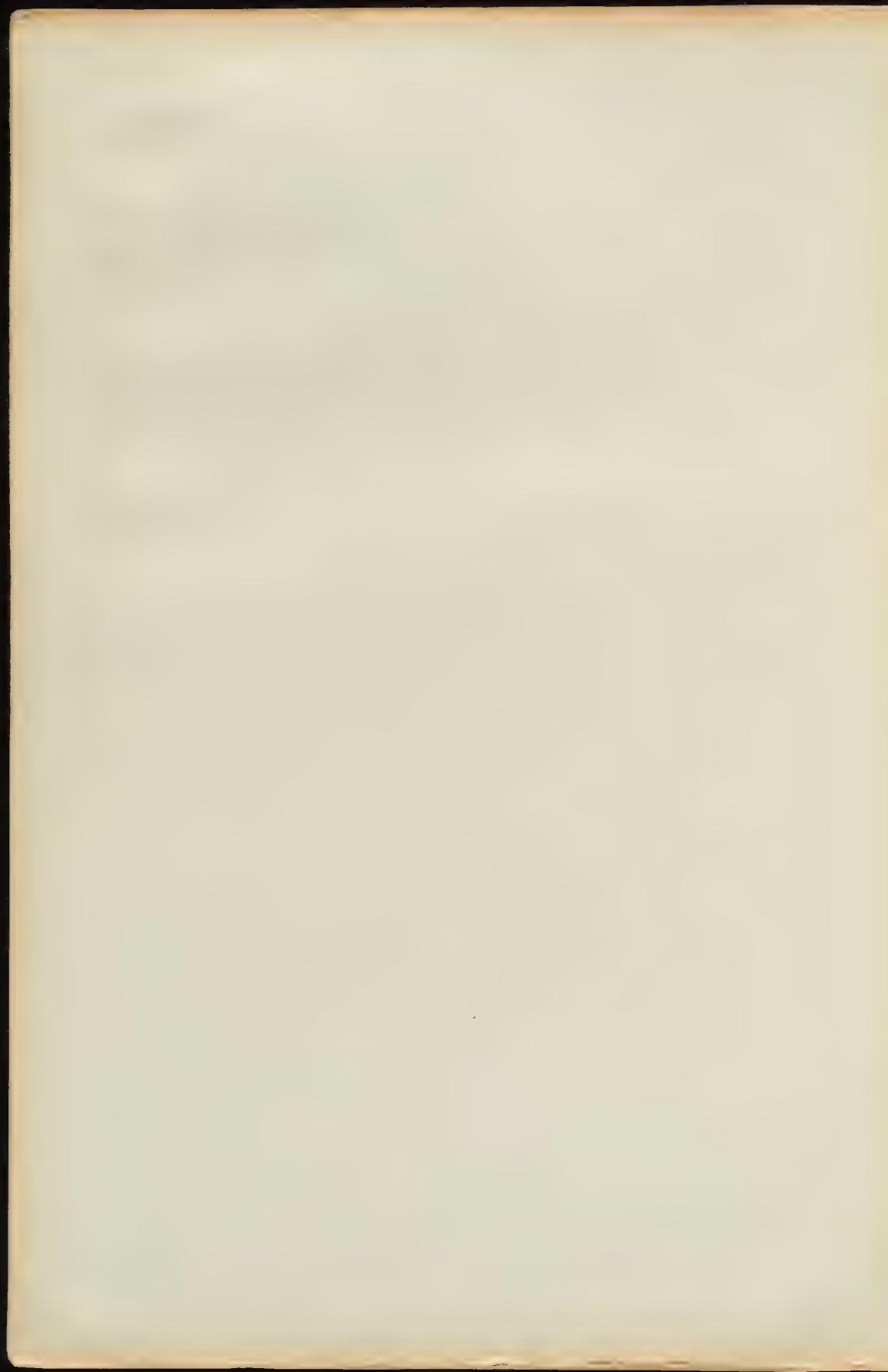
Library of the Earl of Ashburnham, Libri Ms., 16 ff. 3-15

THE plate represents a portion of the *Speculum* of S. Augustine, forming part of a volume of fragments which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Fleur. The work is on vellum, thirteen leaves, originally measuring 12 by 9 inches, but all more or less mutilated in the margins; in double columns of twenty-eight lines. It was written about the end of the seventh century. The manuscript has been described by M. Leopold Delisle, *Le plus ancien manuscrit du Miroir de St. Augustin*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*. Tome xv, 1884.

The writing is in large uncials, without separation of words; the letters occasionally decreasing at the end of a line. The word *item*, employed to introduce a quotation, is in red, and red rustic capitals are used for the headings of chapters. *N* and *m* are sometimes omitted at the end of a line. For punctuation, the middle point is used, though very rarely. Some of the letters, as *e*, *l*, are finished off with ornamental hair lines; *u* is sometimes written as *v*, particularly at the end of a line. Only one interlineation for the purpose of correction occurs. At the end of a line, sloping half uncial letters are used. Following is a specimen of the transliteration:

impietates  
item in hieremia  
Sed quoniam ir  
ritatis dominum. tra  
dite

Augustine (Aurelius Augustinus), one of the four great Fathers of the Latin Church, was born at Tagaste (Tajelt), a town of Numidia, in 354 A.D. In 386 he was converted to Christianity, and the rest of his life is taken up with his ecclesiastical labors and controversial writings. His principal works are, *Of the City of God* (*De Civitate Dei, Libri XXII*), and his *Confessions*. Whatever may be the view as to the soundness or value of some of his dogmatic conclusions, few can hesitate to acknowledge the depth of his spiritual convictions and the strength, solidity and penetration with which he handled the most difficult questions, weaving all the elements of his experience and of his profound scriptural knowledge into a system of Christian thought.

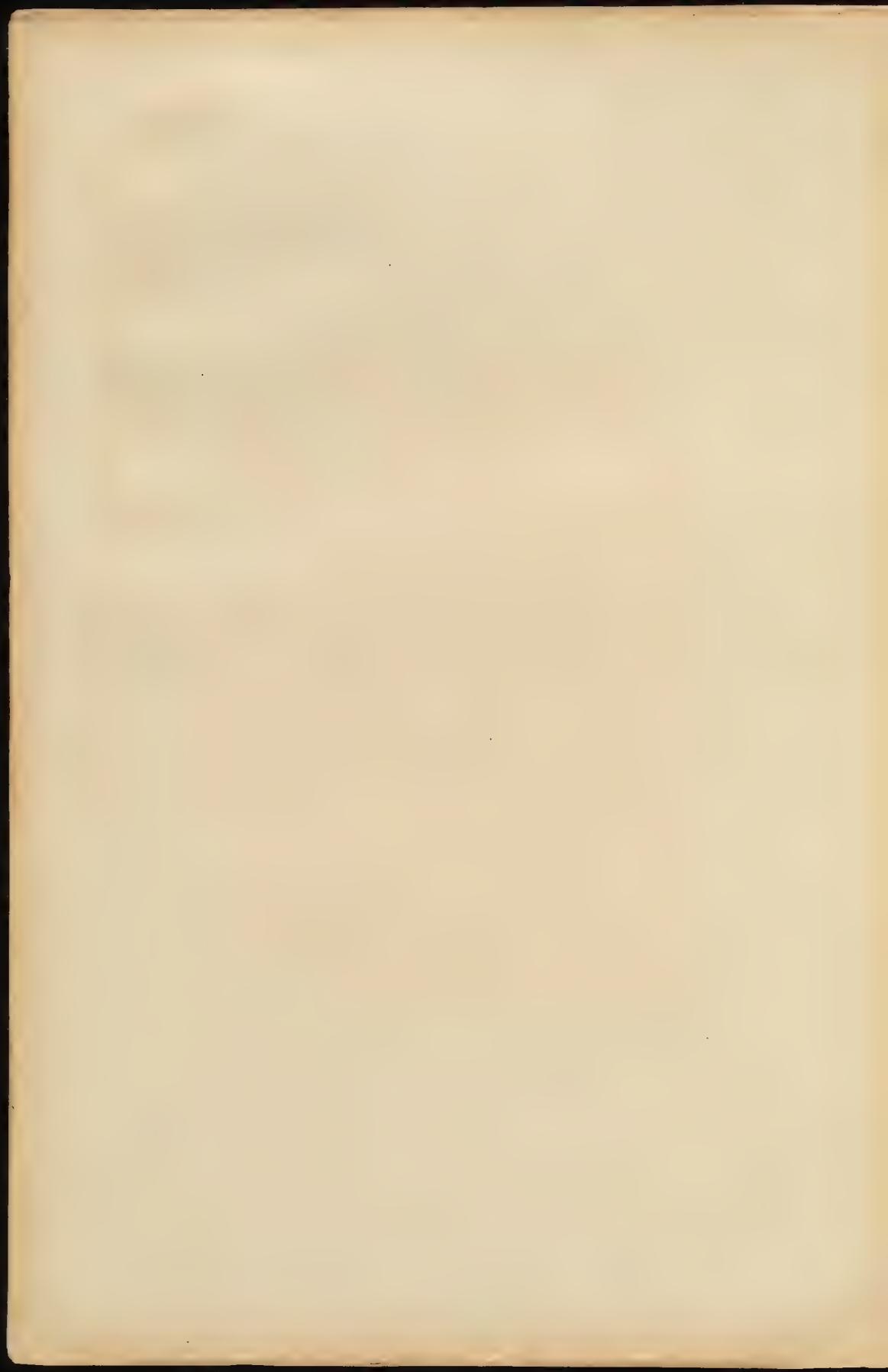


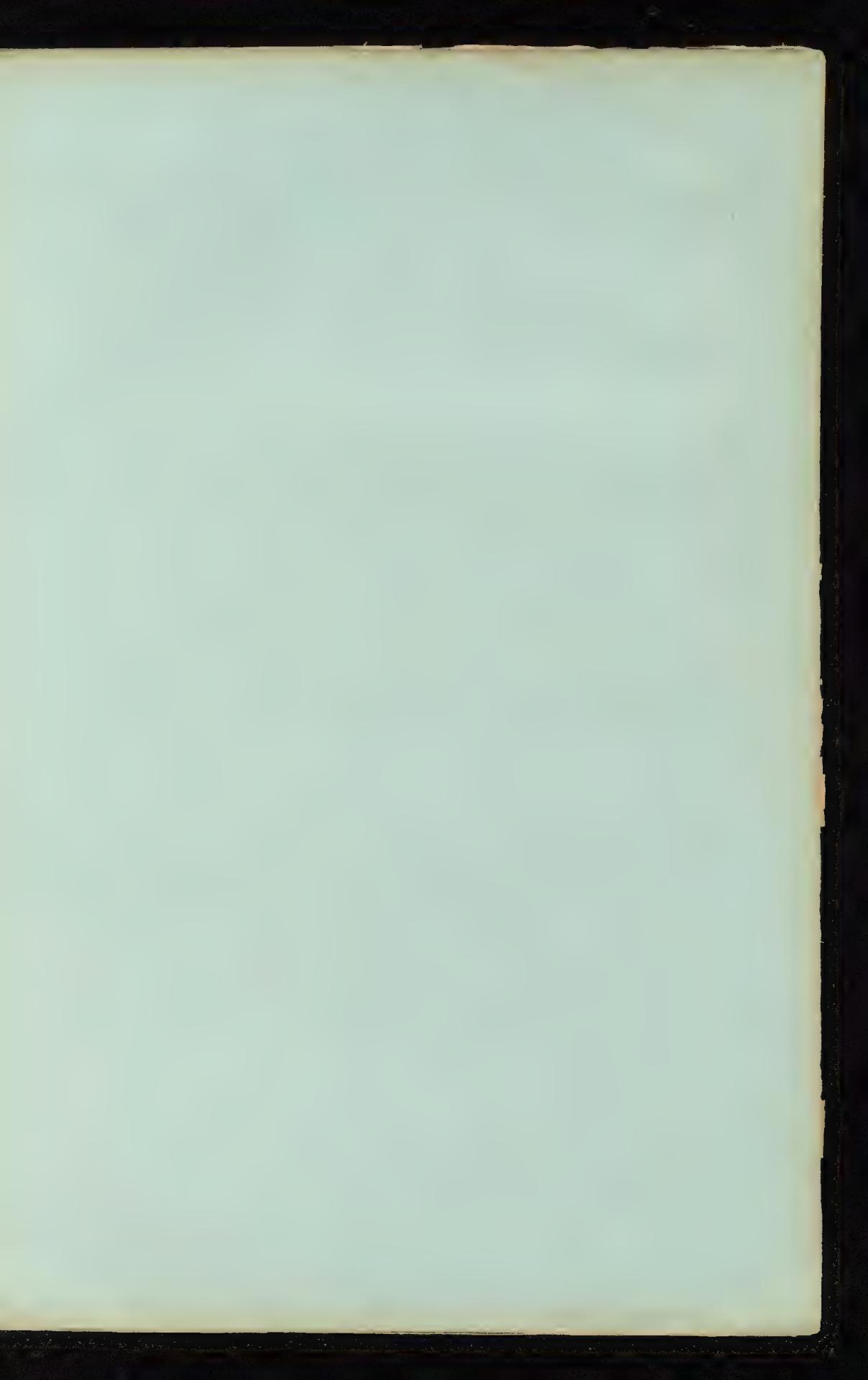
IMPETALES  
INCENDIACREMA  
SED QONIAQIR  
RHASUSDNOTRA  
DILESISADGER  
SARDUSCACEERAS  
TISENIPSCAMQD  
COSPECTUDNAM  
ACTERNICDSACRI  
FICANIESDAEMO  
VNSEINONCO  
HEMOPASTOLUS  
ADROMANOS  
QCCNTESENTIO  
SCSSESAPION  
IESTIGLTFACTI  
SONTEPOMAGC  
RONTGLORIAM  
INCORRUPTIBVS  
DINSIMILITUDI  
NEIMACINISCOR  
RUMTBILISHOM  
NISCTOLACR  
CICQUADRUPEDV  
CISERDENPAM  
CROPIERQOD  
TADICMLOSOS  
TIDESIDEJACOR

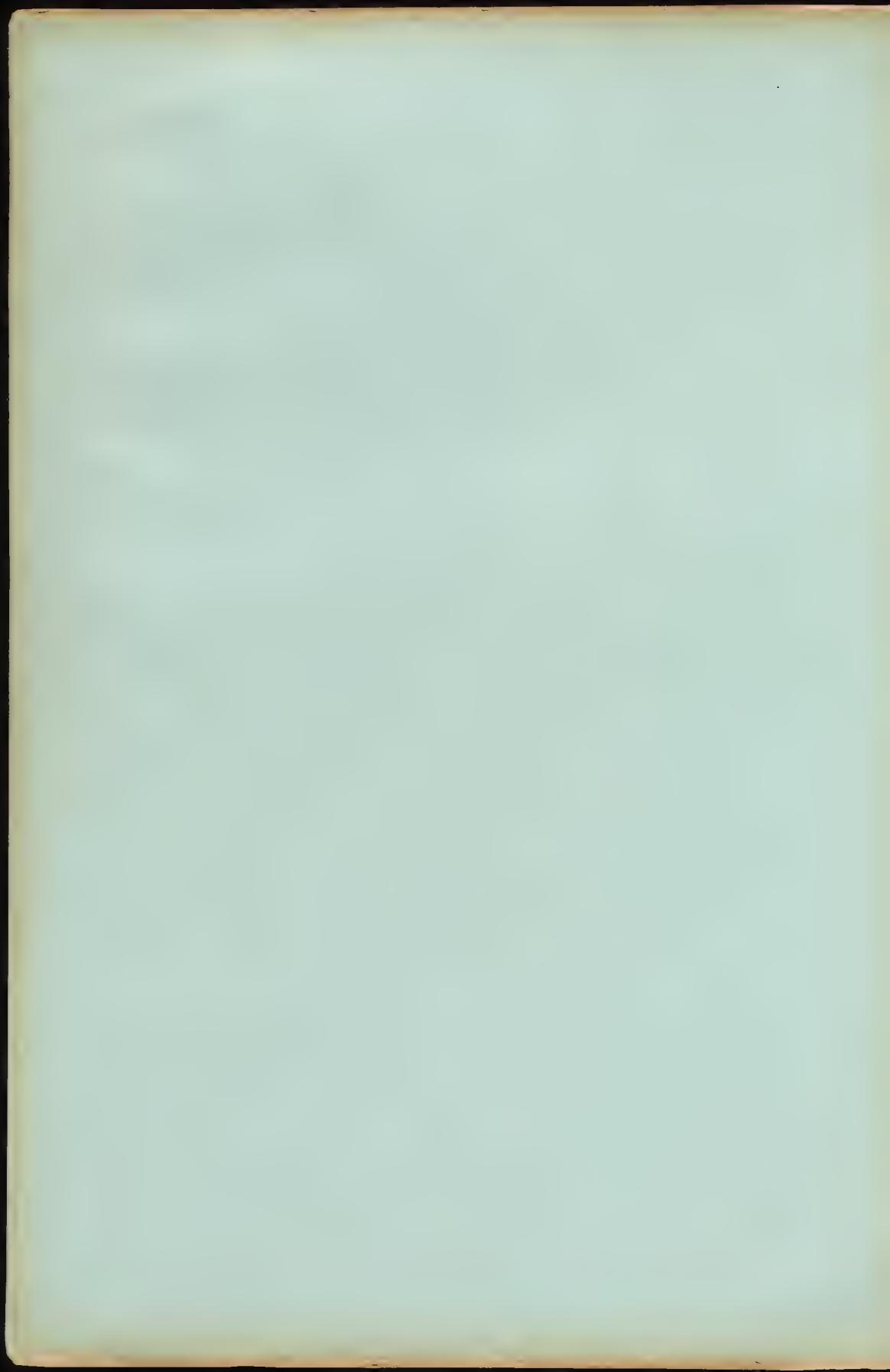
DISILLORGDN  
INDUNDIEXC  
CONTIQCCLISAF  
FICANICORPOR  
SCAINSCDCIP  
SISQUITRANSMD  
LAQCRNLUCR  
TAICDINWCDNA  
CIOCTCOLACRUN  
EISCRACRUNI  
CREATURAEPOTI  
TISQAMCREAO  
RIGQCSIBENC  
DICTUSINSACCUL  
PROPIERQUOD  
TRADIOMLOSOS  
INREPROBATIONE  
SCDAPFACANT  
QIAQNONCONDE  
NIONI  
NONSUPERANDVMS  
MMMDPETRACTION  
MALORMAVINESMA  
A dicitur de quinos  
tisiadicio po  
palusdcus in  
qioruodcorde  
Lcrodacsi nolue

SPECULUM OF S. AUGUSTINE

(7th CENTURY)



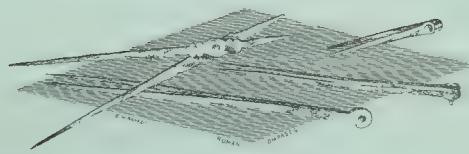




## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN SCRIPT

- Plate 94. Sacramentarium, about A.D. 800.  
Plate 95. Capitularia of Charlemagne, A.D. 825.  
Plate 96. Second Council of Constantinople, about A.D. 888.  
Plate 97. Benedictional of Æthelwold, A.D. 963-984.  
Plate 98. Vergil, Ninth Century.  
Plate 99. Tironian Lexicon, Tenth Century.  
Plates 100-100a. Domesday Book, about A.D. 1086.  
Plates 100b-100c. Exon Domesday, A.D. 1086.



## CHAPTER XVIII

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE LATIN SCRIPT

THE capital and uncial letters used throughout the Roman period and in the early Middle Ages had obvious disadvantages for the purpose of bookmaking. In the first place, they could not be made very rapidly. In the second place, they are large, and therefore occupy much space. The first objection might often be overlooked where the bookmaker was a monk with no practical affairs to attend to, who, therefore, could devote the best part of a lifetime to making a few books. But the question of material was not so easily gotten over.

In the early Middle Ages, when books were comparatively few, a paucity of material was, perhaps, not urgently felt: some books were of enormous size, a page even twenty inches high, and a volume composed of a thousand pages. But as time went on there came a relative revival of learning, and the bookmaking spirit grew apace. The facilities for securing parchment, which had now become the chief bookmaking material, did not increase with this need. Parchment became very expensive, as well as difficult to procure, and, as we have seen, the expedient was resorted to of erasing classical manuscripts, that the new writings might take their place.

The lover of literature—and no doubt the bookmaker generally was such—must have had many misgivings in thus destroying valuable manuscripts of antiquity, and quite naturally he cast about for a means to overcome the dearth of parchment without resorting to this practice. One very obvious way of effecting this in part would be a reduction in the size of the letters employed in bookmaking. In many of the older books, the letters are not merely capitals or uncials, but made very large at that, sometimes even an inch in height, so that comparatively few words could find place even on a large page. Such extravagant waste of material as this was soon corrected, and the average size of uncials of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries is, as we have seen, not very great. Still, the nature of an uncial does not permit of its being made very small; or rather, perhaps it should be said that if the character is made very small it ceases to be an uncial. This is precisely what happened in the course of the Middle Ages. First there was a tendency slightly to modify an ordinary uncial character. It has been pointed out that a tendency to cursiveness is seen towards the end of the lines in many uncial manuscripts, the scribe obviously having become impatient with the slowness of production. To meet this difficulty—a difficulty that every writer of books must more or less have felt—a natural expedient would be the adoption of a cursive script. But there is a radical objection to this. A cursive script, however carefully formed at first, tends to be more and more careless, until finally it becomes illegible.

In Southern Italy in the thirteenth century, Frederick II issued an edict suppressing the illegible script then current there in business documents. This script must have been bad indeed, for business documents are relatively ephemeral, and a very illegible script could be tol-

erated in them which would be quite inexcusable in a book. Books were made for the market, to be sold to some one who desired to read them, and too bad a manuscript would obviously be unsalable.

Two contradictory desirabilities, therefore, confronted the bookmaker after the revival of learning had made a ready market for his product. On the one hand he would produce many books; on the other he would have his product legible. Neither the uncial script previously in the use of bookmaking nor the cursive script of everyday life met these conditions; therefore a compromise script was evolved which was intermediate in character; more cursive, and therefore more readily written than a book hand, yet much more legible than the ordinary business hand. This new form of script was written in small characters, which, therefore, came to be called minuscules. Once thoroughly developed, this minuscule hand took the field for all ordinary books. Volumes of the nature of editions *de luxe*, chiefly composed of Bible MSS. or of standard works of the Saints, were still issued in the old-time uncial, but the generality of books after about the ninth century used the other character. This minuscule character reached relative perfection in the tenth and eleventh centuries, afterwards degenerating with use, as is the nature with scripts. It is the character of the tenth and eleventh centuries that has served as the model for the modern type of our printed books of to-day.

The books of this period are made uniformly of parchment, and they have the form of modern books, bound precisely after the manner of printed books of to-day. There are certain other modern features that distinguish these books from the earlier ones. Notable among these is the fact that punctuation marks are used much more freely, and that the words are often marked off from one another by spaces. The use of capitals at the beginnings of sentences is an additional aid to the reader. All of these modifications are due, no doubt, to the fact of a great increase in the reading public. It is the nature of a certain kind of cloister scholarship to revel in difficulties, and the average scholar of the early day seemingly preferred that reading should be made as difficult as possible; otherwise a market would have been created for books in which the words were divided by spaces, and in which the other aids to writing that seem so essential to moderns were introduced. But now with the revival of learning these aids were demanded by the popular taste, and, naturally, the bookmakers responded to them.

Such a manuscript as that shown in Plate 96, "The Second Council of Constantinople," illustrates well the division of words, the use of punctuation marks, and the introduction of capitals at the beginning of a sentence; while the pages of the *Domesday Book*, shown in subsequent plates, go a step farther, dividing the matter into very obvious paragraphs. As one views these manuscripts he feels no longer in a foreign atmosphere. The modern method of bookmaking has been ushered in.



PLATE 94. SACRAMENTARIUM, ABOUT A.D. 800

St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 348

THE document shown in the plate represents the *Sacramentarium* of Pope Gelasius. It is of vellum, 188 leaves, measuring 9 by  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches, with twenty-three lines in a page. On the margin of one of the pages is written the name of Remodus, Bishop of Chur, from A.D. 800 to 820, as owner of the volume. The work may therefore be assigned to about the beginning of the ninth century.

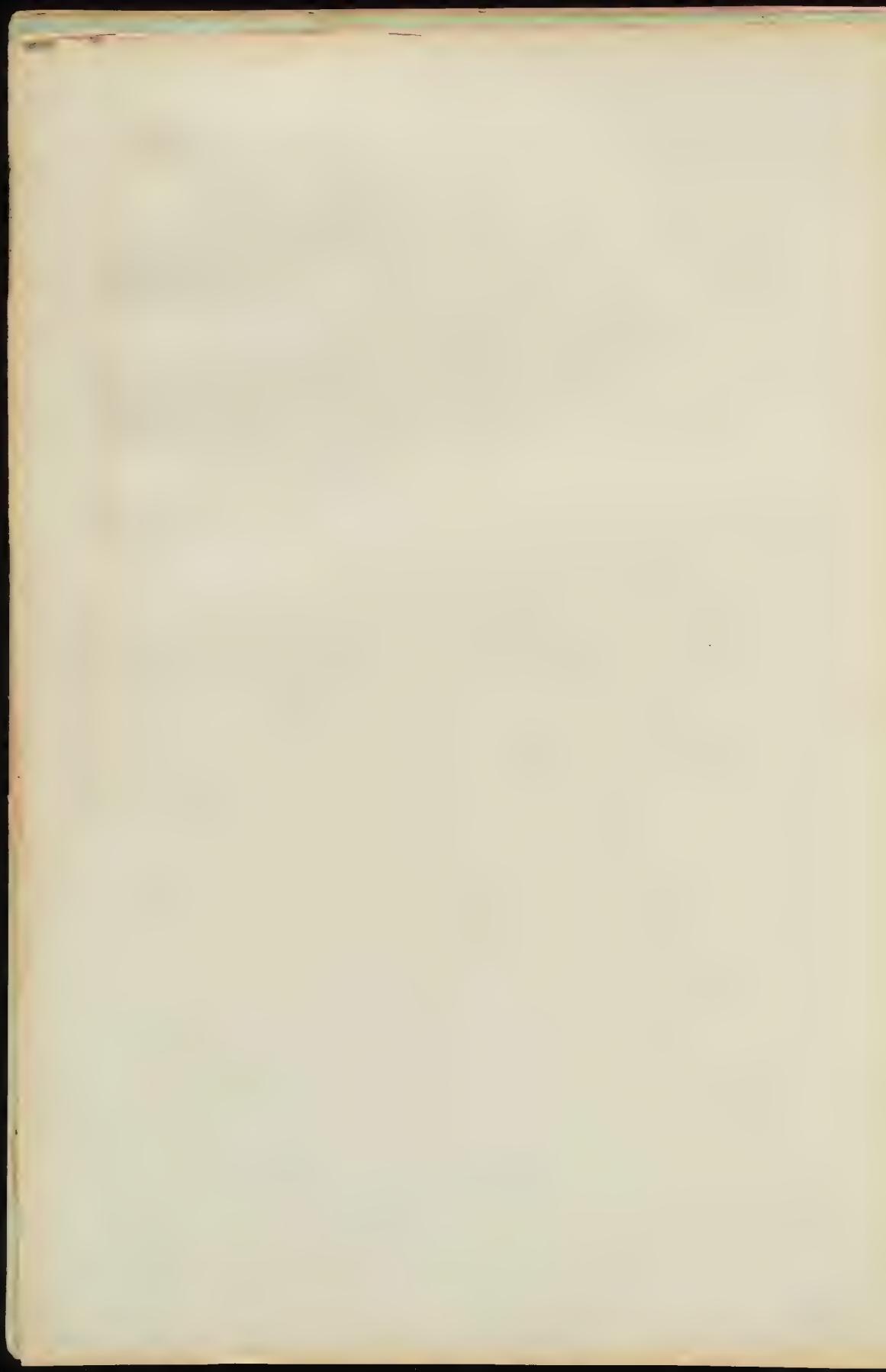
The writing is in modified and rounded Lombardic minuscules, with an Irish style of ornament, and delicate initials. The line *INCIPUNT* is colored in light red, green, violet, yellow and some gilding; the line beginning *DOMO u ANTE* is in gilt.

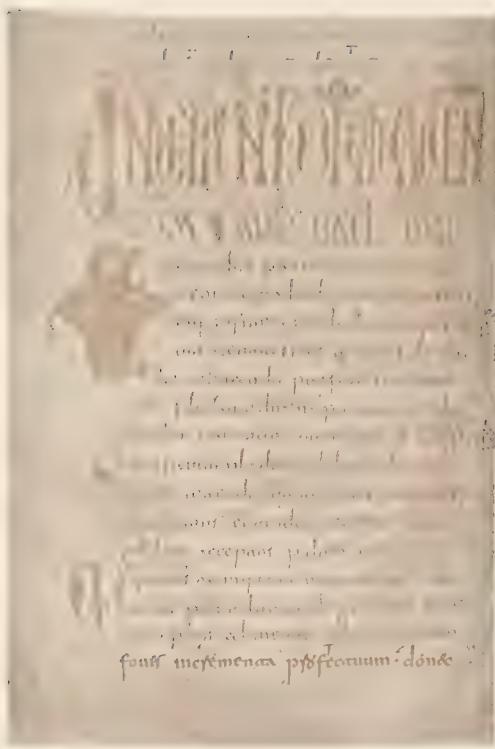
Pope Gelasius I succeeded Felix III in 492 and died in 496. The *Corpus juris canonici* attributes to Gelasius the promulgation of a decree *de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, but this is thought to be a forgery. It is interesting to note that Gelasius, in his treatise *Tomus de anathematis vinculo*, tells us that in olden days, Melchisedec was both priest and king; then the "Evil One" induced the emperors to imitate him and assume the supreme pontificate. But, Christianity having revealed the truth to the world, the union of these two powers was no longer possible; and Christ, in consideration of human frailty, forever separated them, making the emperors dependent upon the popes for their spiritual good, and the popes subject to the emperors in the administration of temporal matters. Now, on the other hand, Innocent III quotes Melchisedec as the forerunner of the union of royal and sacerdotal power in the person of the pope. Gelasius insisted upon the removal of the name of Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, from the diptyches, thus widening the estrangement between the Eastern and Western churches.

It was Pope Gelasius who in 496 called a Council which determined for the second time the Canon of the Old and the New Testament Scriptures; the noteworthy feature of the council's decision being the exclusion of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The document, of which the plate gives a specimen, was a copy of the *Codex Sacramentarium*, a collection of forms as used in the celebration of the sacraments in the fifth century. The MS. lay hidden until 1582, when the Florentine Library was dispersed and the volume sent to the library of the Queen of Sweden (St. Gall).

It was printed at Rome in 1680 and at Paris in 1685. There has been some controversy as to the authorship of the book.





SACRAMENTARIUM

(ABOUT A. D. 800)

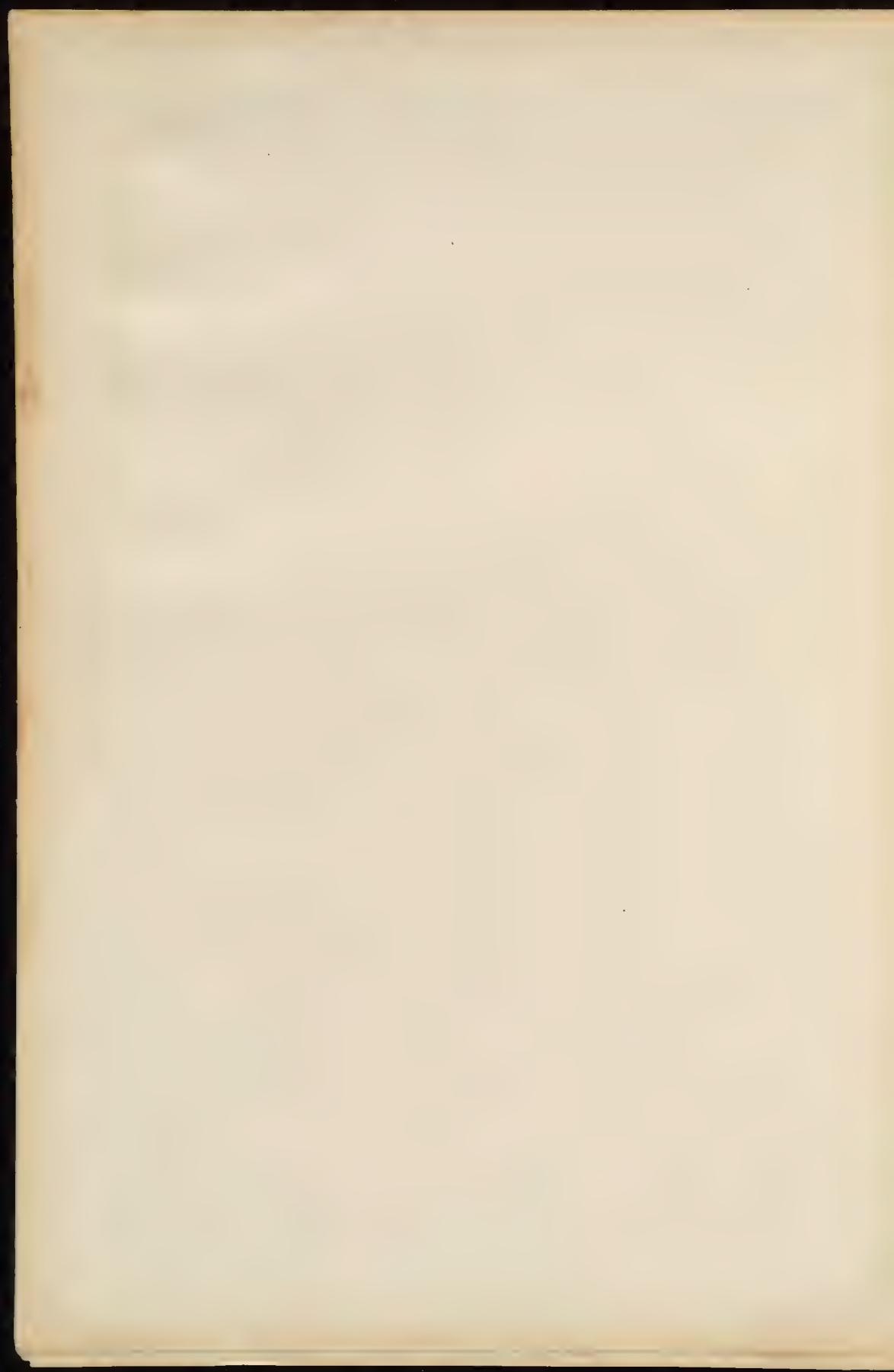


PLATE 95. CAPITULARIA OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 825

St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 733

**T**HE *Capitularia* or *Constitutions of Charlemagne* with other tracts, on vellum, 44 leaves, measuring  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with 17 lines in a page, was written before or in the twelfth year of Louis the Débonnaire, that is, in 825 A.D., as appears from a note added at the end of the work by a second hand.

The writing is in well-formed minuscules; the words generally separated, and there is a tendency to thicken the main limbs of the tall letters. The contraction *ep̄sc̄p̄s* is emphasized in the texts by wavy lines on each side of it.

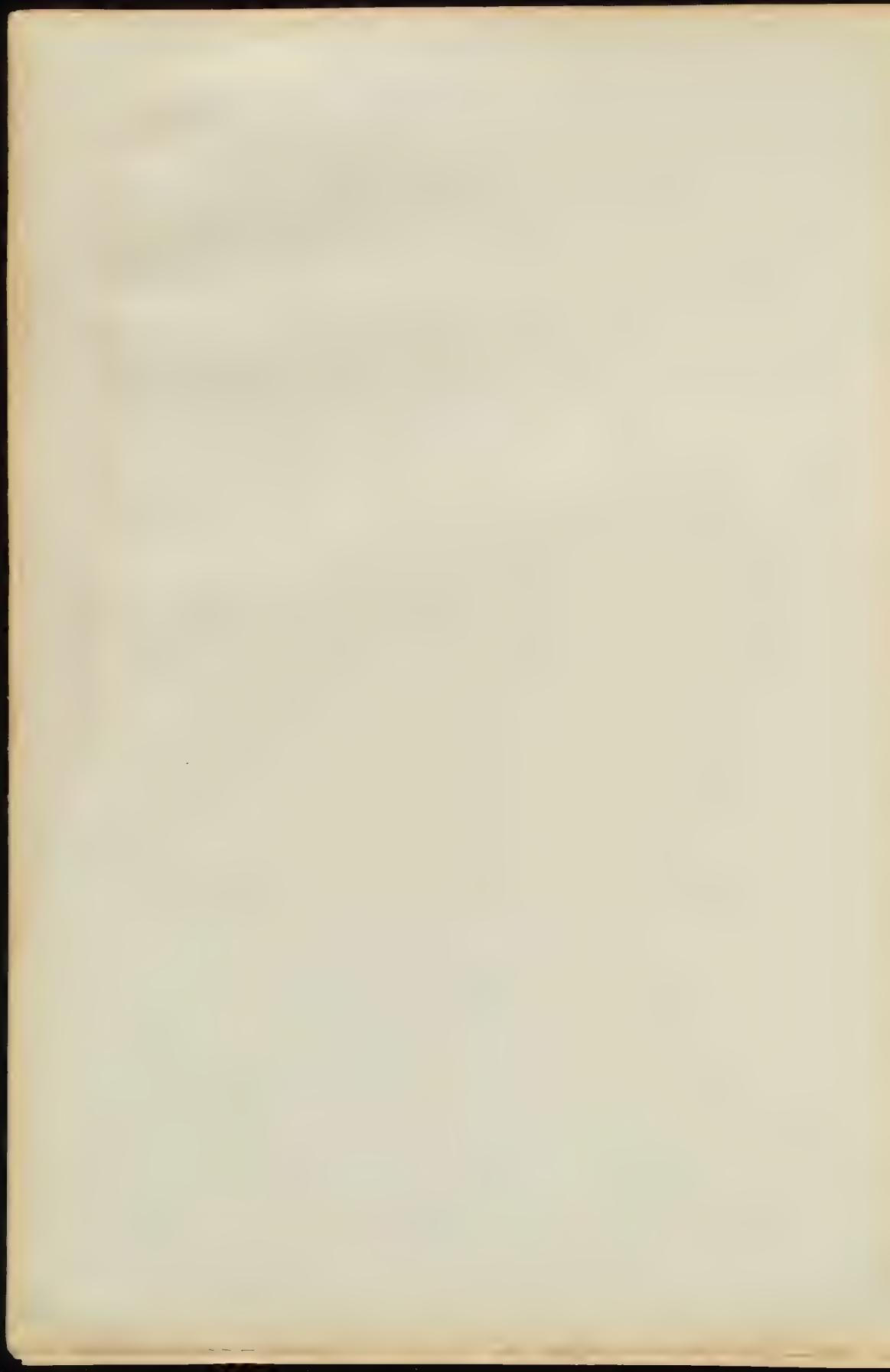
In the following transliteration of the Latin, italics show where the text is abbreviated.

ut *ep̄sc̄p̄s* alterius clericos ad se  
non sollicent nec ordinant *ep̄sc̄p̄s*  
**I**TEM eiusdem ut nullus *ep̄sc̄p̄s* serum  
alterius ad clericatum officii sine  
domini sui voluntatem promoto  
vere presumat et hoc cangren  
se concilium prohibet · *ep̄sc̄p̄s*  
**I**TEM eiusdem ut si quis sacerdotum con  
tra constituta decretalia, pre  
sumptiose agat et corrigi noleas,  
ab officio suo moueat · *ep̄sc̄p̄s*  
**I**N discretis gelasii pape. ut nullus  
*ep̄sc̄p̄s* uiduas velare presumat  
*ep̄sc̄p̄s*  
**H**AEC enim dilectissimi pio studio  
et magna dilectionis intentione  
uestra unanimitate amore studu  
imus.  
que magis necessaria videbantur  
ut *senecorum* patrum canonis illis  
stitutis ingentis premia cum illis  
aeterne felicitatis accipere  
mercamini; Scit namque pru  
denter uestra quam terribili  
anathematica censura ferientur  
**Q**UI presumptio contra statu  
ta universalia conciliorum  
venire audeant. Quapropter  
et vos diligenter amonemus  
ut omni intentione illud or  
ibile excommunicationis iudicio  
vobis capere studeatis: Sed  
magis canonica instituta sequen  
tes et pacificare unitatem nitentes  
ad aeterne pacis gaudia perueni  
re.

The plate represents a portion of the document concerning bishops contained in the first book of the *Capitularia* and shows the regulations: (a) that no bishop should presume to advance to the sacred office any person who had not been moved thereto by the Holy Spirit, and (b) an order that the bishop and priests were to read the canonical scriptures intelligently and live according to the same.

The *Capitularia* is a literary monument of Charlemagne's ambition to formulate a system of central government. It was a collection of rules, decrees, schedules, etc.—all generally derived from the Roman laws—such as had been ordered from time to time by himself and his predecessors.

Most of the *Capitularia* are dated; but those shown in the plate cannot be definitely assigned to any particular year. (See Martin Bouquet, *Réveil des Historiens*, Paris, 1764, tome v, page 690; and J. P. Migne, *Patrologie Cursus Completus*, Paris, 1851, tome xcvi, page 506 seq.)



**I**ste ep̄ alterius clericorū ad se  
consollicitate in vestimentis ep̄is  
in ecclesias ut nullus ep̄i sacerdum  
alioquin eisdem officiis sine  
domini sui voluntatem promo  
uere presumat. & hoc cangrei  
se conciliū prohibet ep̄is.  
**S**ic et ut utiquis sacerdotū con  
tra constituta dērēdulia pre  
sumptiose agit & corrigi nolens  
ab officio suo moueat. ep̄is.  
**I**n decreto gelasi pape. ut nullus  
ep̄i iudicium uelare presumat.  
ep̄is

**H**aec enim dīlīm pio studio  
& magna dilectionis intentione  
uita unanimitate amore studia

que magis ne cimice. uideantur  
ut scōrū patrū. canonici in  
statu in gerentur premiūdū  
alterne felicitatē accipere  
merentur. Sed namq; pru  
dētia utrū. quā. terribile  
anathematis censura ferentur.  
Qui presumptiose contra statu  
te uniuersalitatem conciliorū  
uenire audeunt. Que propter  
& uos diligenter amonem⁹  
ut omni intentione illud or  
rible execrationē iudicio  
uobis capere studeatis. Sed  
magis canonica instituta sequen  
tes & pacificā unitatē nō toller  
ad alterne pacis gaudiū. ep̄i ueni  
re

CAPITULARIA OF CHARLEMAGNE

(A. D. 825)

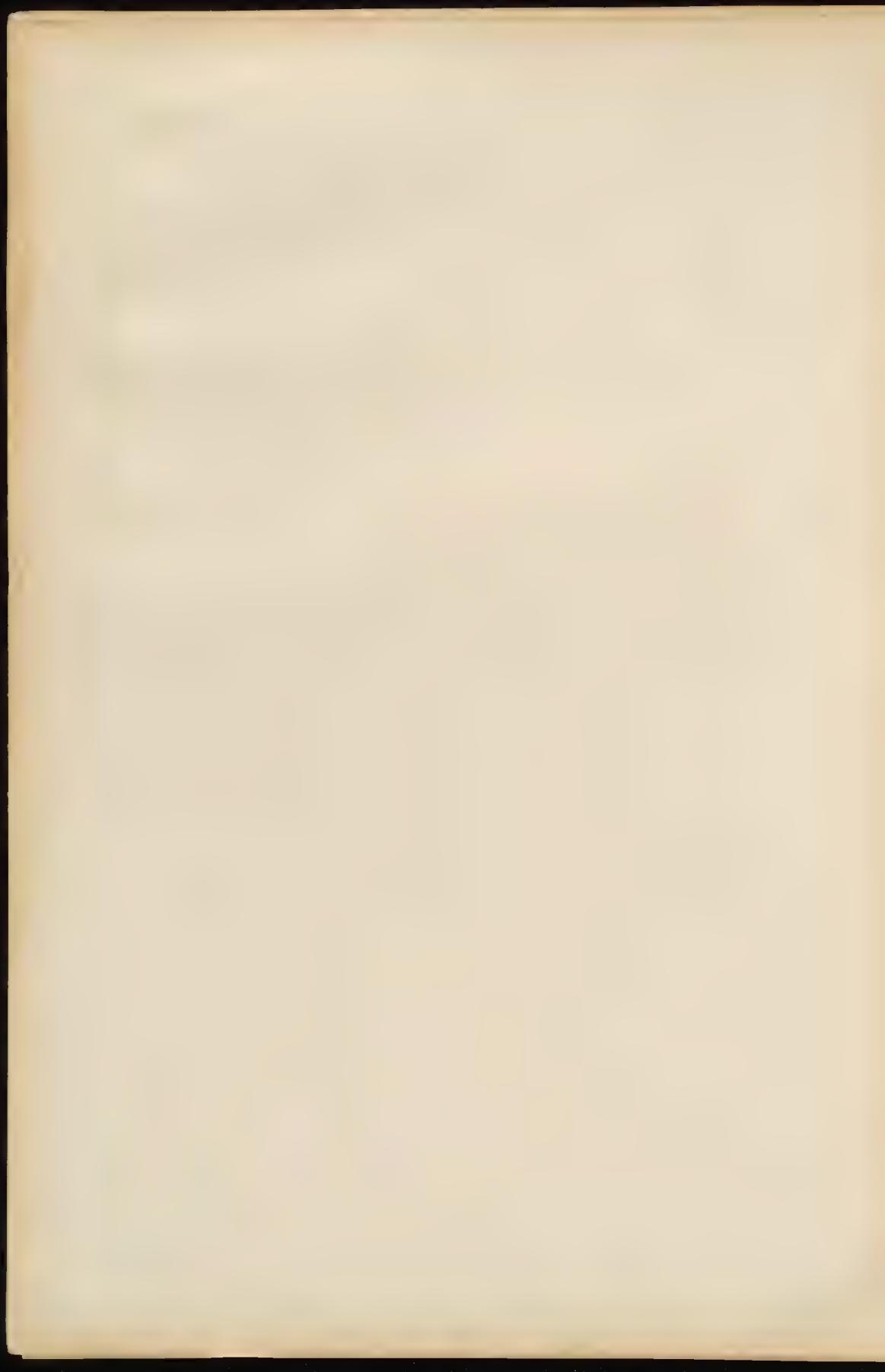


PLATE 96. SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE,  
ABOUT A.D. 888

St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 672

THE plate represents a work known as the *Canons of the Second Council of Constantinople*, followed by St. Jerome's commentary on the Books of Kings. It is of vellum, 128 leaves, measuring 10½ by 7½ inches, with twenty-six lines in a page. The first four quires were written by a monk of St. Gall, named Notker; not later than the year 888; the rest of the volume being written in continuation between that year and 892.

The writing is in set minuscules, sloping a little, with clubbed letters, but without the open *a* and *g*. The scribe's record is in the words at the bottom: *Hucus quo patrauit Notker.*

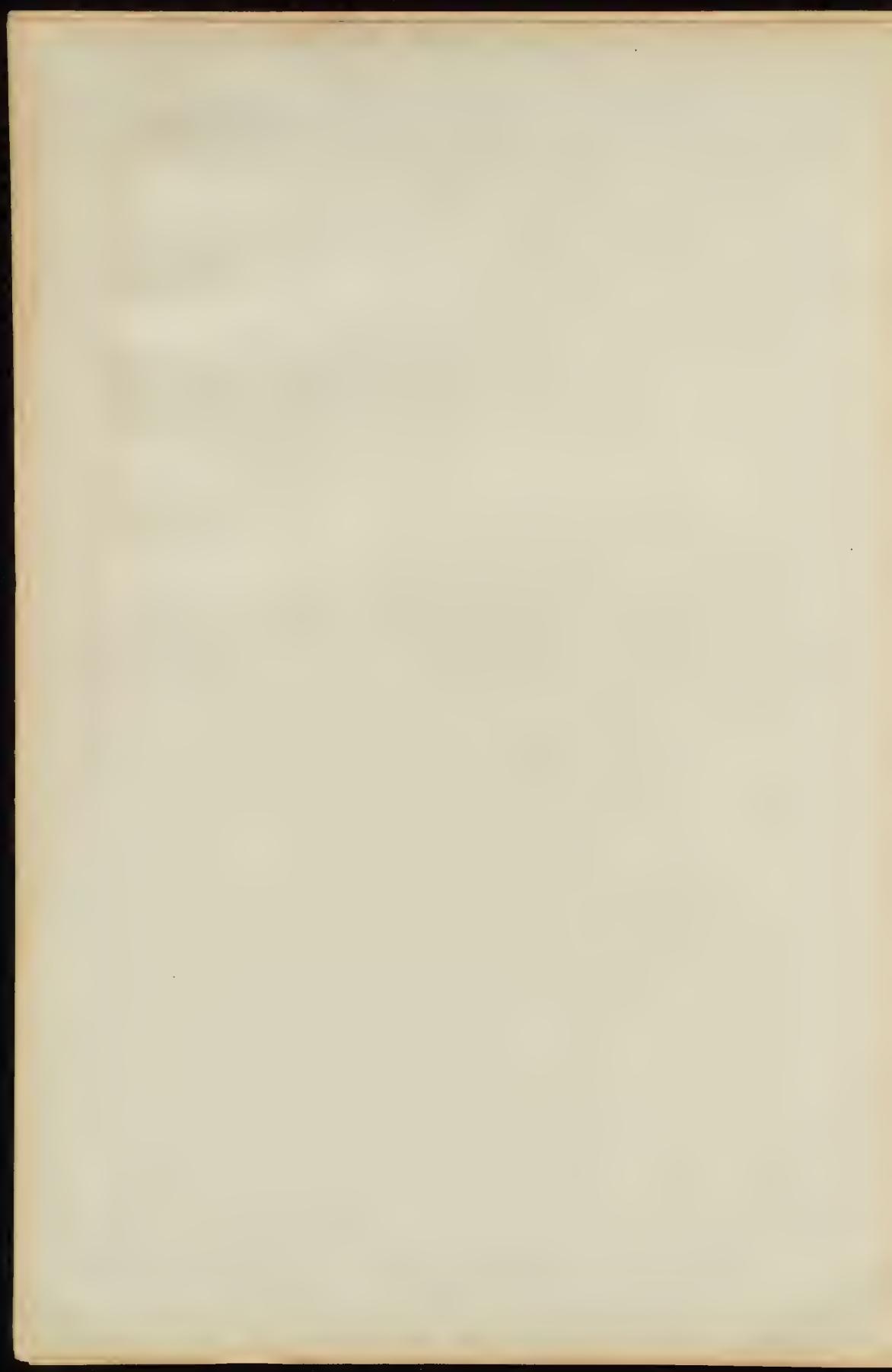
The plate represents a list of bishops, and the beginning of the transliteration reads:

religiosissimo episcopo heraclei thracie · Anastasio re  
ligiosissimo episcopo tabie vicem agente.

The Second Council of Constantinople was held in A.D. 553, whereat condemnation was passed upon Origen, a theologian who in the third century established sundry highly important ecclesiastical dogmas and laid the foundations of the scientific criticism of the Old and the New Testament.

Objection was made against some of his teaching during his lifetime, for his philosophical system was equally opposed to the Greek thought of the age and to that of the Christian Gnostics. Amongst others, Origen taught the doctrines of preexistence, the resurrection of the flesh, and plurality of worlds, which proved so repugnant that he was anathematized at the aforesaid council, some two centuries after his death.

Origen, by the way, collated various Hebrew manuscripts of the Bible with the Septuagint. Some account of his endeavors will be given in connection with the facsimiles of Bible manuscripts in the Third Folio.



religiousissimo epo heraclei thracie. Anastasio religiosissimo epo tabiae vicem agenti. Dorothei religiosissimi epo anerre. Iohanne religiosissimo epo iluensi vicem agenti. Cypriano religiosissimi epo cyzine civitatis. Lusebio religiosissime epo nicee. Constantino religiosissimo epo calchedonensis. Proero religiosissimo epo tarsi. Iohanne reuerentissimo epo caucasei vicem agenti. Palladii religiosissimi epo melitene. Iohanne religiosissimo cesare palestine. Pompeiano religiosissimo epo bizaciu. Anna zonoi religiosissimo epo edesie. Ale xandro religiosissimo epo cangorou. Thomae religiosissimo epo apamiesyrie. Cyphranta religiosissimo epo tyane. Theodoro religiosissimo epo hieropolis syrie. Beoporio religiosissimo epo neocesare. Iohanne religiosissimo epo bostre philipporeligi osissimo epo mirox. Thedoro religiosissimo epo sele tissaurie. Julianus religiosissimo epo sardensi. Theodosio religiosissimo epo gortyne. Cestachro religiosissimo epo damasci. Theodosio religiosissimo epo rodri. Firmo religiosissimo epo tabasian africane punitus. Theodoro religiosissimo epo antiochies pisdie. Phoca religiosissimo epo italiense. Eu logio religiosissimo epo perge. Seueriano religiosissimo epo aphrodisiadis. Cyriaco religiosissimo epo amidae. Seuero religiosissimo epo synedorum.

SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(ABOUT A. D. 888)

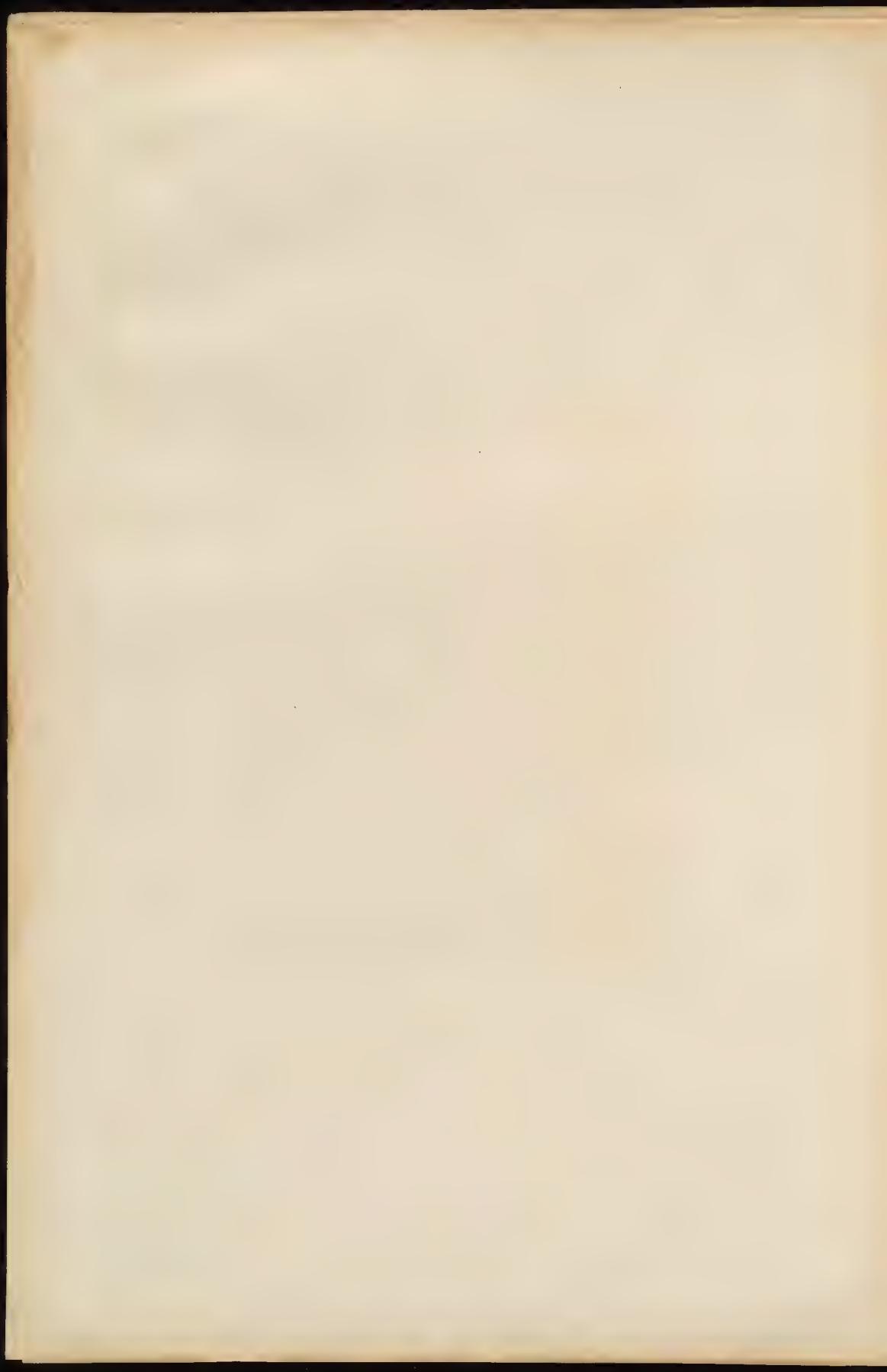


PLATE 97. BENEDICTIONAL OF AETHELWOLD,  
A.D. 963-984

Duke of Devonshire's Library

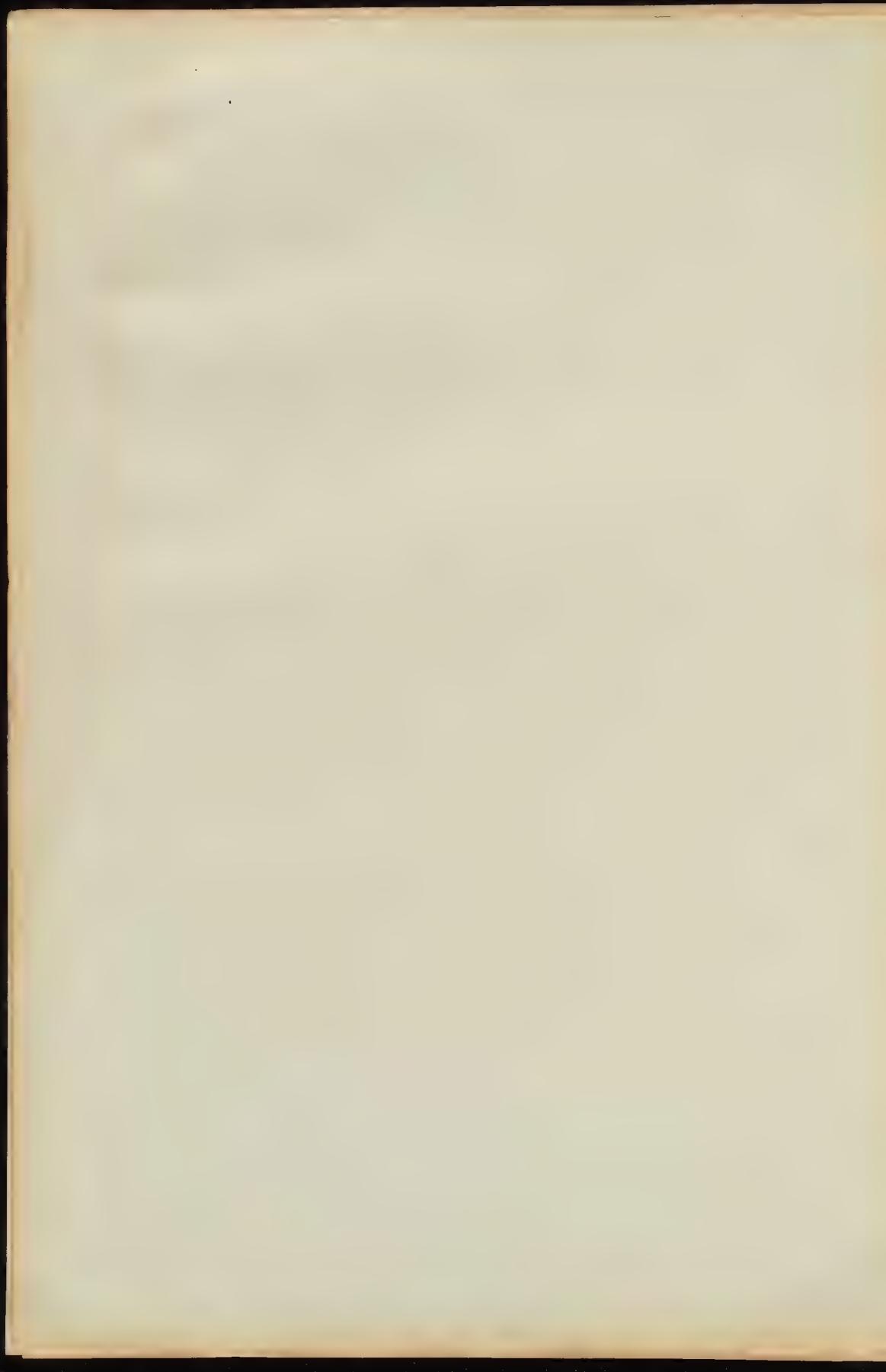
THE plate shows a portion of the thirty-eight hexameter Latin  
verses which stand at the beginning of the *Benedictional* of  
Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 963-984, and give the  
history of the book.

The writing is in rustic capital letters of gold. The story is by a  
scribe named Godemann, who has been identified with an abbot of  
Thorney, who succeeded about A.D. 970. The volume itself is illus-  
trated with miniatures of saints, etc., in which gold is profusely used,  
and is written on vellum, 119 leaves, measuring 11½ by 8½ inches,  
with 19 lines in a page.

It was customary for a bishop, before he received the Sacra-  
ment, to bless the people with a prayer appropriate to the day. St.  
Augustine (*Epistles*, 59), calls these Postulations. Such forms are  
of remote origin, and were either originally part of the Roman lit-  
urgy, or were introduced into France or Spain by oriental bishops.

For a full description of the subject of the plate, see *Archæo-  
logia*, volume 24, 1832, page 19.

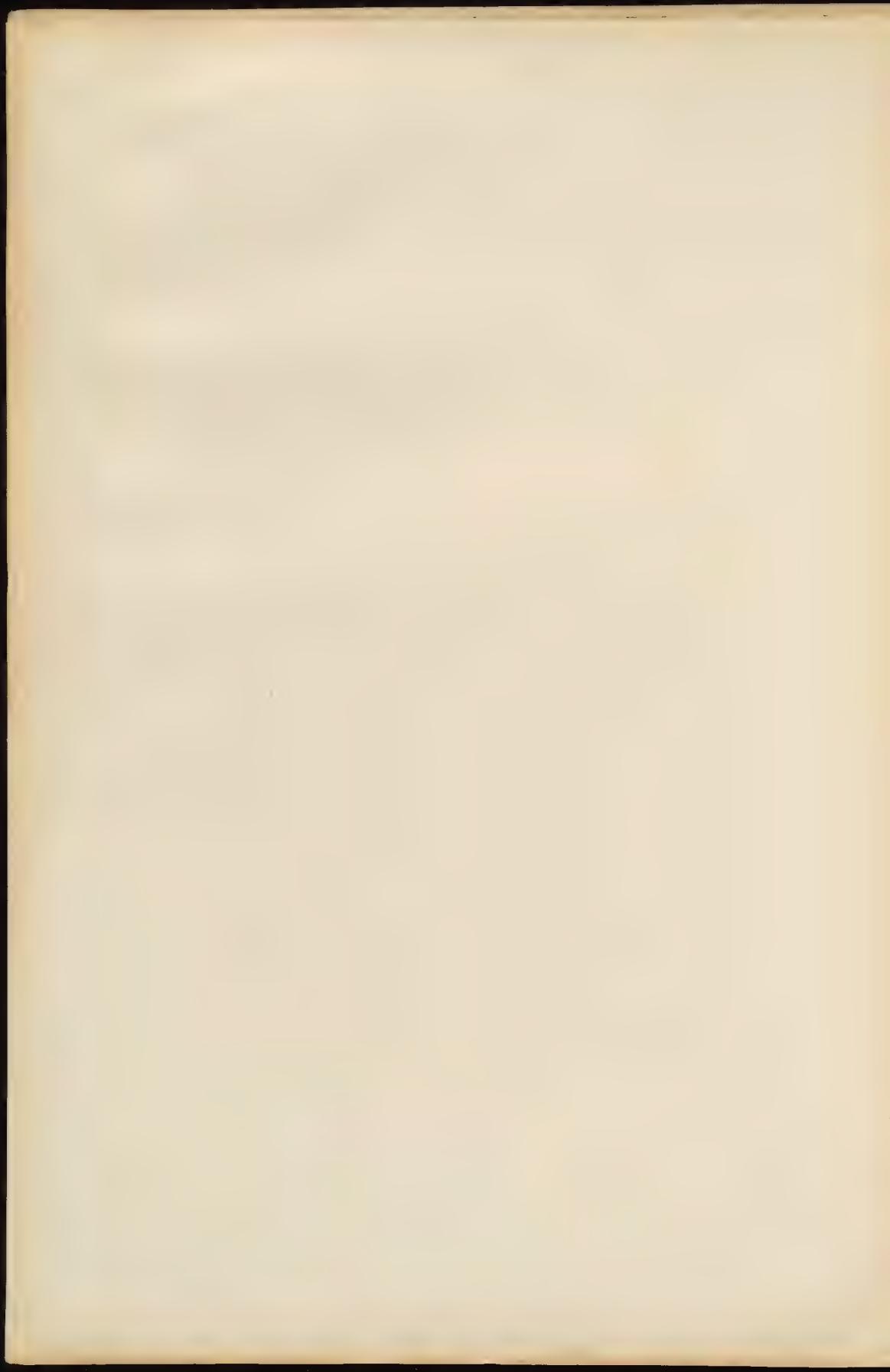
A prelate whom the Lord had caused to be head of the church  
of Winchester, the Great Æthelwold, truly understanding how to  
preserve the fleecy lambs of Christ from the malignant art of the  
devil; this steward, illustrious, venerable and mild, desirous likewise  
to render full fruit to God when the Judge shall come who weighs  
the actions of the whole world, what each has done, and shall render  
such reward as they deserve—to the just eternal life and to the  
wicked punishment—commanded a certain monk subject to him to  
write the present book: he ordered also to be made in it many  
borders, beautifully decorated and filled with various ornamented  
pictures, expressed in divers beautiful colors and gold; the afore-  
said Boanerges caused this book to be written for him, to the intent  
that he might from it sanctify the people of the Saviour, and pour  
forth God's holy prayers for the flock committed to his charge, that  
he might not lose a little lamb of his fold, but be able joyfully to  
say:



ANIMA MATER ESKU LESTIT PSICOBECI PRESTI  
TUTIO CLOTHORUM SOCIETATIS. ET MATER CLO  
THORUM SED PIAVIT TUTIO CLOTHORUM BIS IN PPI  
AC MONSIEURIS SPPRIATO. MELITIS MAGNA  
CONSIRUARE. D0 FRUCTU QUOQ; BIDDI APPLENU  
ECONOMO. CARUS CHILDE. LIS ATQ; BENIGNS  
HIC CUPIT. ARE. TH. Q; GEFERIT QUD. SCHEDE. ET  
TBTIUS. FACTU QUID. QUILIBET EGERIT. ATQ; I  
MERCEDI BIDDE. QUALIM TUNC. FORTA. MERENDUR.  
A HIRNAM JUSTIS. VITAM. IN JUSTIS. QUOQ; POINHA.  
Q VINDA. SUBIECTU MONACHU. CIRCO. QUOQ; MULTIOS  
I NHO. PRIOPI. HIBI HERU. D. E. S.  
C. OMPLETO. QUOQ; AGALMA. EHI. E. E. E.  
C. ET GENIS. AVANTIS. PULCHRIS. NY. E. E. E.  
C. RAXARI. HUN. SIBI. PRINCIP. IN. E. E. E. E.  
I. CIRCO. UTS. IRIS. POPUL. MUL. IN. DOLISS.  
d. DICARE. D0. QUE. PREVIS. E. E. E. E. E.  
P. DUCET. CAUSS. Q. M. IN. Q. P. M. COUITS  
A. CINGUL. T. S. M. A. L. M. T. P. M. C. L. A. M.

BENEDICTIONAL OF AETHELWOLD

(A. D. 963-984)



## PLATE 98. VERGIL, NINTH CENTURY

Berne Library, MS. No. 165

**T**HE plate represents the works of Vergil, with scholia and glosses, some of which are written in Tironian characters. It is on vellum, 219 leaves, measuring 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with 30 lines in a page. A note in uncial letters at the beginning of the volume states that it was given to the Abbey of St. Martin of Tours, by Berne, one of the brethren ("gregis beati Martini Levita") on condition that his cousin Arbert might read it and have the use of it for life. It was written, presumably in that monastery, in the latter half of the ninth century.

The Plate represents *Aenid* viii, lines 580-609, but the interlineations are more numerous than the text. The Tironian notes have been transcribed into Latin by Professor W. Schmitz, of Cologne, and some account of these curious characters is given in connection with Plate 99. One of the lines shown on the plate,

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum,

is the famous onomatopoeic line, the sounds of which so vividly recall the galloping of horses.

The writing, probably by one hand, is in minuscules of the Caroline type, without separation of words; but the scholia and glosses are by three or four different hands. The initials are in red rustic capitals, and stand out in the margin. The contractions are of simple character, and but rarely used in the text, though frequently in the scholia and glosses. For the punctuation, the full point occasionally appears, and other marks for that purpose have been added by later hands. The letters are mostly broad, tall letters thickened or clubbed. A large initial *T* at the beginning of the volume is ornamented with a twisted cable pattern.

A description of the manuscript by W. Müller, *de Codibus Virgilii*, occurs in *Index Lectorium in Uniu. Litt. Bernensi*, 1841, and by H. Hagen, in *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium*, 1874.

For a brief account of Vergil's life and works, see Plate 85, Chapter XVII of this work.

The text of this copy differs very slightly from that of the best edited modern versions. A few variations and omissions are shown in italics and brackets, respectively, in the following copy of the lines on the plate:—

[Sia aliquem infandum esum, *Venus* matria:  
Dum e hinc locis evadere nuncet *Venam*.]  
Dum curse ambiguis, dum pse incerta futuri,  
Dum te, care puer, mas sera et sole solupata,  
Complexus teno; gravior ne nuntius surus  
Vulnererit. Haec genitor digressi dicta sup'remo  
Fundebat: famuli confusum in tecta ferabant.  
Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus aperitis:  
*Aeneas* inter primos et fidus Achates;  
Inde ali Troiae proceres; ipse agmine Pallas  
In medio, c[h]iamyde et pictis conspicutus in armis:  
Qualis, ubi Oceani perfunis Lucifer unda,

Quesum Uenus ante alios astrorum diligit lycres,  
Ebulit os stern[en]i esca, concrebrans resoluta.  
Sunt pauci[us] in mura matres, conluctare aescuntur  
Paluera[m] eubem, et fulgentis aere catervantur.  
Armat tendunt. It clamor, et agmine facto  
Quadrupedante putre[m] sonitu quatit ungula ca[m]pu[ro].  
Est ingens gelidum lucis prop[ri]e Caeritis annem,  
Religione patrum late sacer; undique colles  
Religere caui et nigrae nemus abebo cingunt.  
Silvaeq[ue] ruris et forestes et arboris et regnos.  
Aescu[m] pectoris Dea, Iuniperus dñe.  
Qui print fines aliquando habuebat Latinos  
Haud prouci hinc Tarcho et Tirr[ic]eni tua tenebant  
Castra locis, celisque omnis de coile uideri  
Iam poterat legio, et lati tendebat in aruis.  
Huc pater *Aeneas* et bello lecta iuuentus  
Succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.  
At Uenus aethereos inter Dea candida nimbus  
Dona ferens aderat; natumque in ualle reduta  
[Ut prouci egelido secretum flumine videt:]

## Translation:—

"But if O Fortune, thou threatenest me with some calamity, now, O now, let me end my troubled days, while cares are double and hopes uncertain; while thee, dear son, my last and only joy, I hold in fond embrace, lest sadder tidings wound my heart."

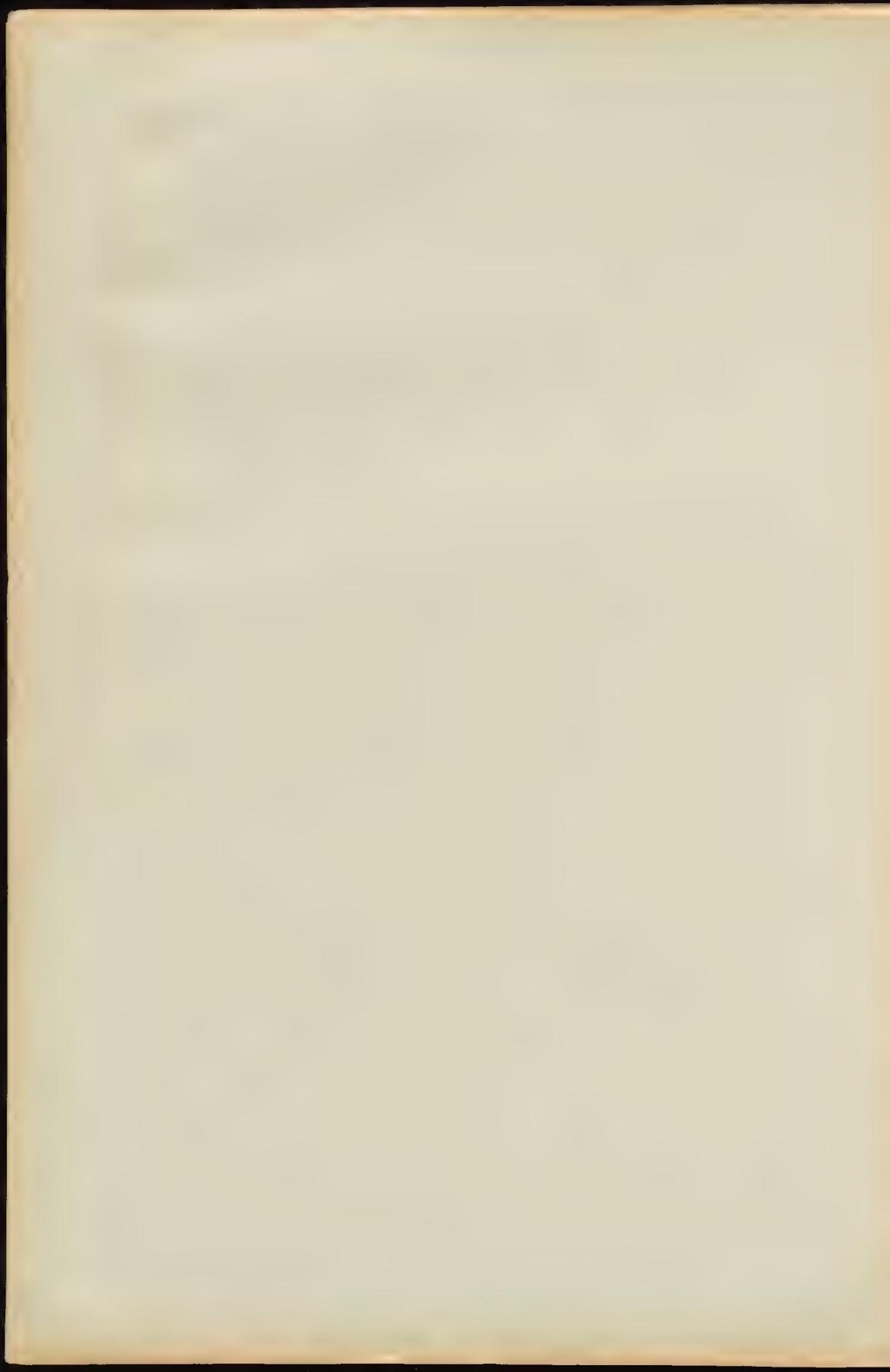
These words the father spoke to the departing one, and the servants carried him back fainting into the hall. Already had the horsemen passed through the open gates, *Aeneas* among the first, and trusty Achates; then the other Trojan chieftains, Minerva herself amidst the troop, conspicuous in her cloak and brilliant armor, as Lucifer, whom Venus loves above all the other stars of heaven, shines across the waters of the ocean, lifting up into the sky his sacred head and softening the darkness of the night.

The timid matrons stay within the walls and follow with their eyes the dusty cloud, glimmering with brazen armor. The soldiers themselves march among the thickets which bound the roadside. The noise increases, and the squadrons having formed, the hoofs of the horses beat the dusty earth with a four-footed galloping.

There is a great grove near the cold waters of the Cæriti, famous far and wide, and sanctified by the veneration of the ancients; low hills and shady fir trees encircle it. Tradition says that the ancient Pelasgians, who first in old times inhabited Latium, dedicated the grove and a certain day to Sylvanus, the god of fields and flocks.

Not far hence, Tarco and the Tyrrhenians had a camp, very safe from its position, from which lofty hill *Aeneas* could now see their whole force and mark the position of the tents in the open ground.

Thence, Father *Aeneas* and the chosen youth descend to the troops and refresh both themselves and their tired horses. Meanwhile, Venus, the shining goddess, drew near among the heavenly clouds, bearing gifts; in the remote valley on the farther side of the cool stream she sees her son.



Vulnus et laesae duxit et iudicata lumen

Et amque ad exercitum pontifex quatuor supererat.

Silvæ canubem et fulgentis aeternas.

Quadrupedante putre sonaque ritungula caput  
Fingens gladium lucis prope castam nem.

Inclusa recaui et migrans abiecit inquit.

Ruorum pecorisque declucum que diemque.

Infelix occasio vocavit etiam suum filium  
Infectum mortale loletta uiuentis.

VERGIL

(9th CENTURY)



PLATE 99. TIRONIAN LEXICON, TENTH CENTURY

British Museum. Add. Manuscript No. 21,164

**T**HIS plate represents the *Notis Senecæ*, a lexicon of the Tironian shorthand signs, the invention of which is attributed to Marcus Tullius Tiro, the freedman of Cicero, and which were afterwards augmented and classified by Seneca. Whether this be Seneca the Rhetorician, or his son, or, more probably, some later grammarian, cannot be determined. The volume is of vellum, containing seventy-seven leaves, measuring 8 by 6 inches. It was probably written in the first half of the tenth century.

There is no ruling for the lines, but vertical lines are provided for the columns. The spacing varies according to requirement.

The Tironian system was apparently partly alphabetic, partly ideographic and partly arbitrary. Some of the alphabetical signs are presumably based on the Phoenician alphabet, the letter *B* at the top of the plate being obvious. The existence of Latin terminations led to a facile system of intersections. Some words were purely arbitrary, or their modifications were, as is seen in the differentiation of *cultrum* and *cultellum* in the third column. The writing was done by a reed or quill, and the thick and thin strokes are the natural ones. In the British Museum there is also a Tironian Psalter of the ninth century, on vellum (small 4to), from the Abbey of St. Remy. (Additional Manuscript, No. 9046.)

The fact that there was a dictionary points to the extreme probability of there being a large number of works current in the system, but there would be a tendency not to preserve such volumes, as being of no practical utility after the use of the script was generally discontinued.

The Lexicon commences with a kind of preface: *de Notis Vulgaribus*, and *de Notis Juridis*, *de Notis Militaribus*, and *de Notis Literarum*. The volume first gives a list of suffixes, such as *ad*, *ex*, *con*. Throughout the Lexicon the usual arrangement is for a key-word, to be written as a guide, such as *Stat*, followed by *abstat*, *constat*, etc.

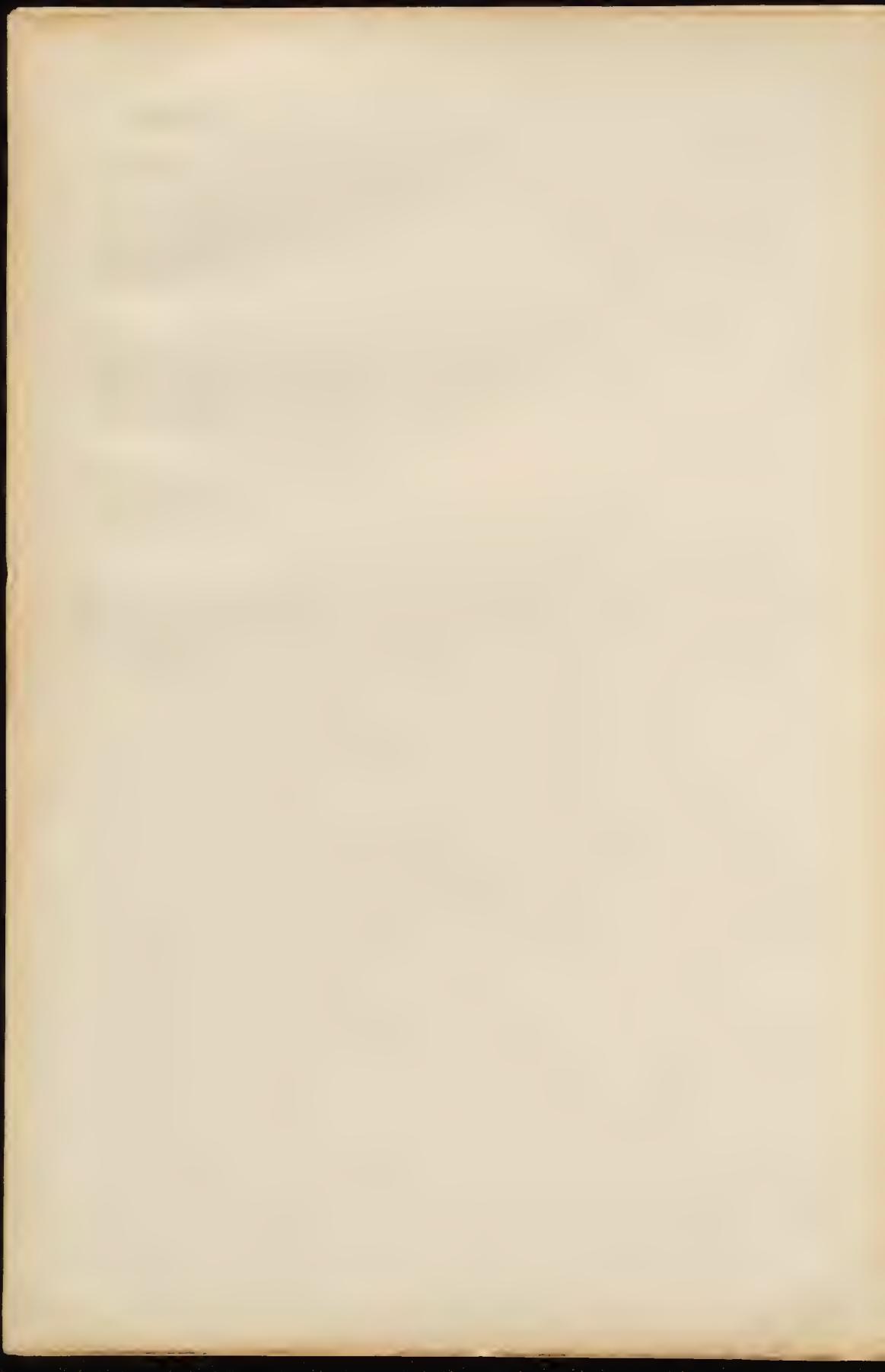
Dr. J. Westby-Gibson, in his *Bibliography of Shorthand*, is of the opinion that the characters were originally based on the Roman, and possibly Greek, alphabets, but that time produced many changes, and the resemblances almost vanished. Justinian (*circa* 534) forbade legal documents being written in Tironian character, because of its ambiguity. Later on, the system was not used for reporting, but for the expeditious production of compends, etc.

Regarding the Lexicon and the Psalter, it is interesting to note that in 1496 a Benedictine abbot, Trithemius, of Spanheim (Upper Rhine), obtained a *Lexicon* and a *Psalter*, and though we do not know the actual history of the Museum manuscripts, it seems quite reasonable to conjecture that two such books should be preserved together.



TIRONIAN LEXICON

(10th CENTURY)



PLATES 100 AND 100a. DOMESDAY BOOK, A.D. 1086

Public Record Office, London

THESE plates represent portions of the *Domesday Book*, which is a record containing a survey of all the lands of England made in the time of William the Conqueror. It is in two volumes, the first containing 382 double leaves of vellum, measuring 14½ by 9½ inches, written in double columns. It contains a survey of thirty shires. The second volume has the survey of the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and is written on 450 double pages, but in a single column. It bears the date 1086, and to that year may also be assigned the first volume, which was no doubt compiled contemporaneously from fuller reports like those of the eastern counties.

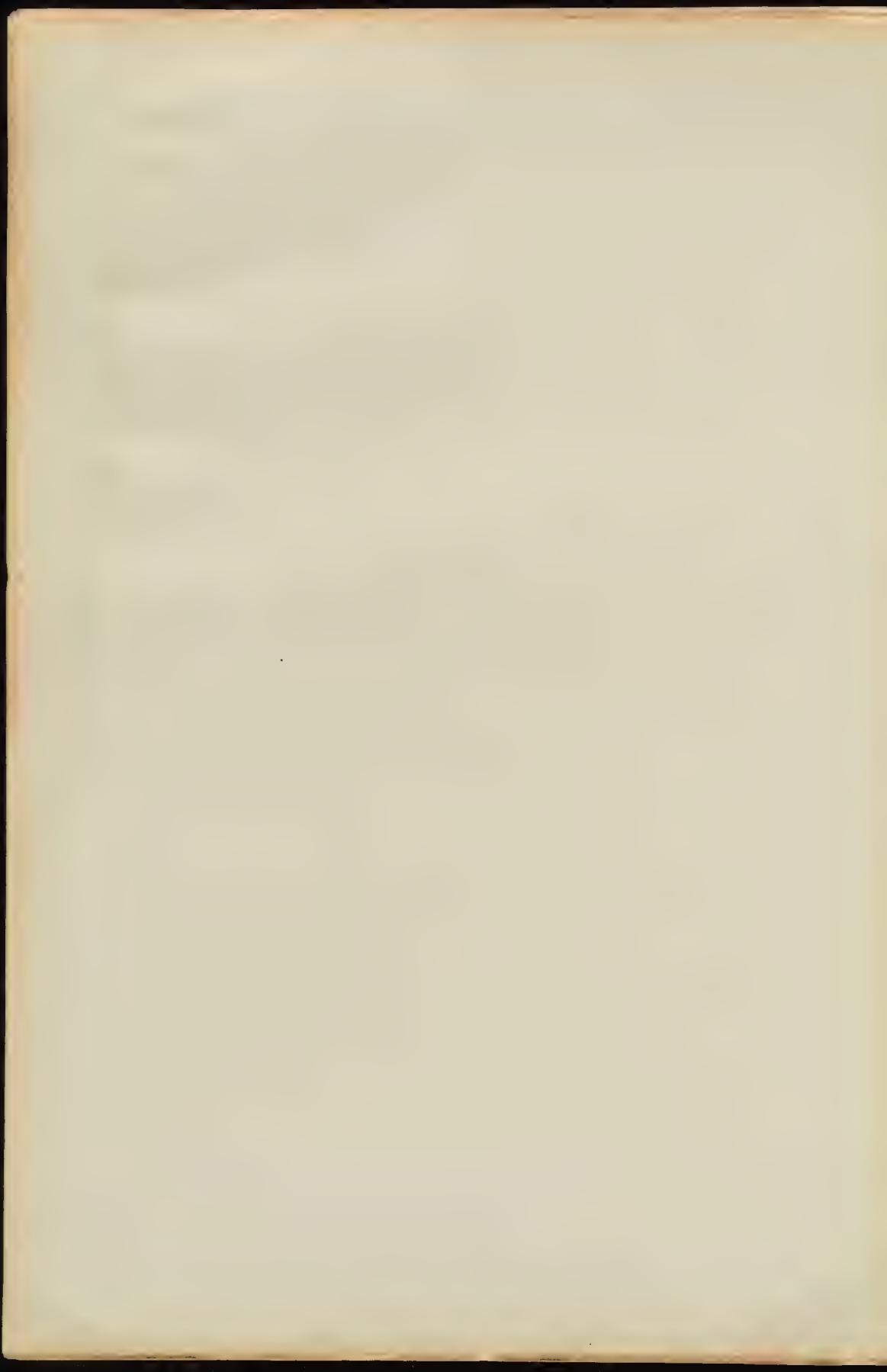
The writing is in set minuscules, with frequent changes of hand; the headings and running titles are in red.

The first three lines on Plate 100 read:

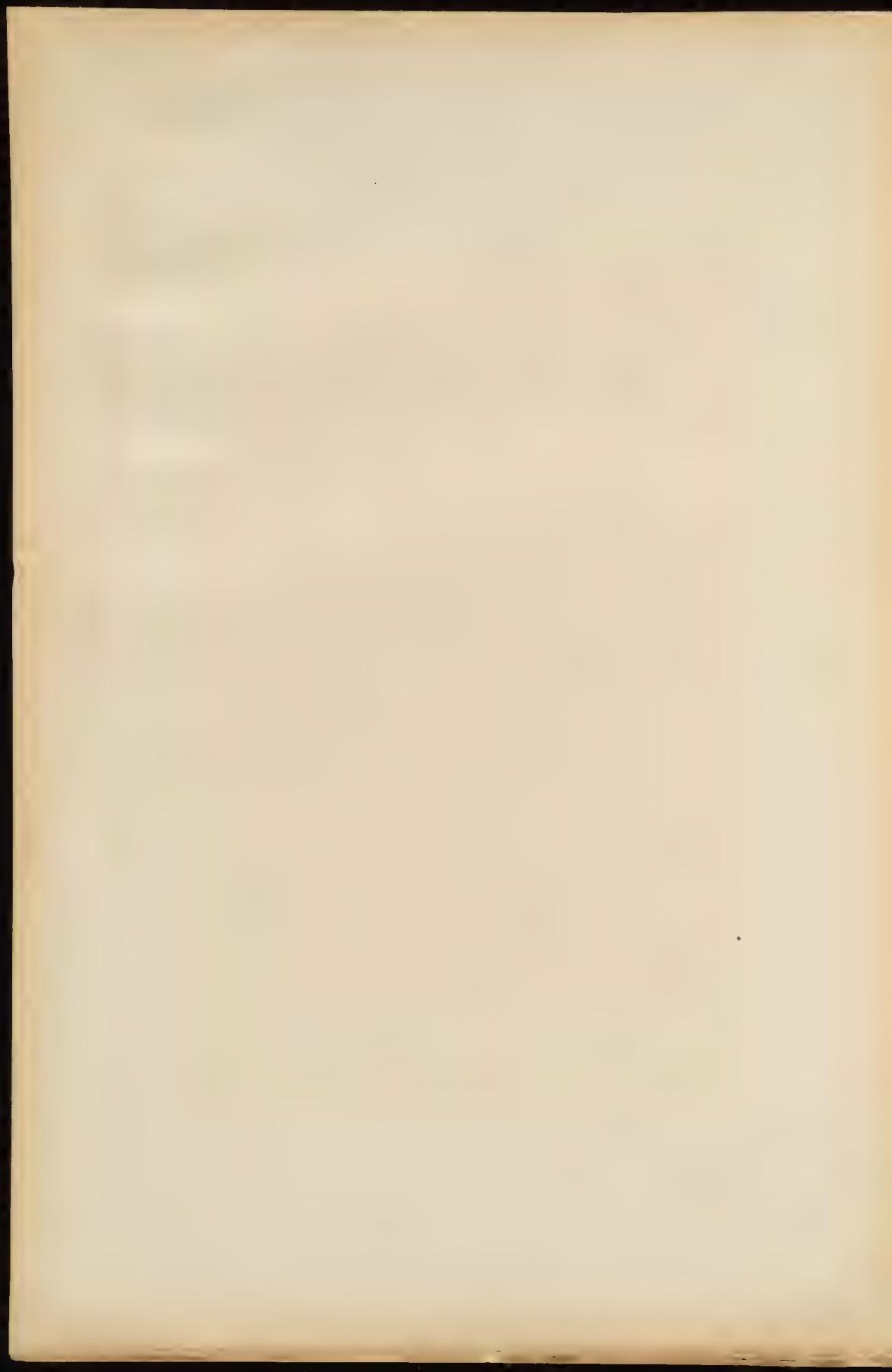
Chenth.  
Terra Episcopi Baicensis  
In lest de sudente. In Achestan hundred.

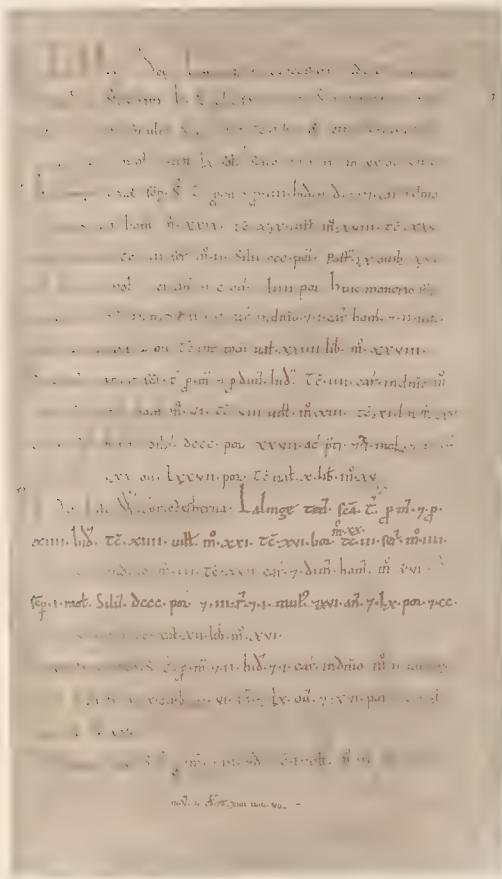
The passage given in the plate relates to the land of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, in the Achestan Hundred, at Sutton Le Hone, near Dartford, Kent. This Odo was a man of some note, brother of the Conqueror, and famous in history as the "fighting bishop." He was made Bishop of Bayeux in 1049, and died in 1097 at Palermo, when on his way to the Holy Land. His person and property are said to have been seized by the Conqueror in 1080; but as nearly all the estates are mentioned in the Survey in terms indicating actual possession, we conjecture that either only a portion of his property was confiscated, or else that the survey of it was taken before his disgrace; or another supposition afforded is that the estates were under sequestration but not forfeited.

The portion of the Survey for the southwestern counties is known as the *Exon Domesday*, and is illustrated in other plates (100b and 100c).



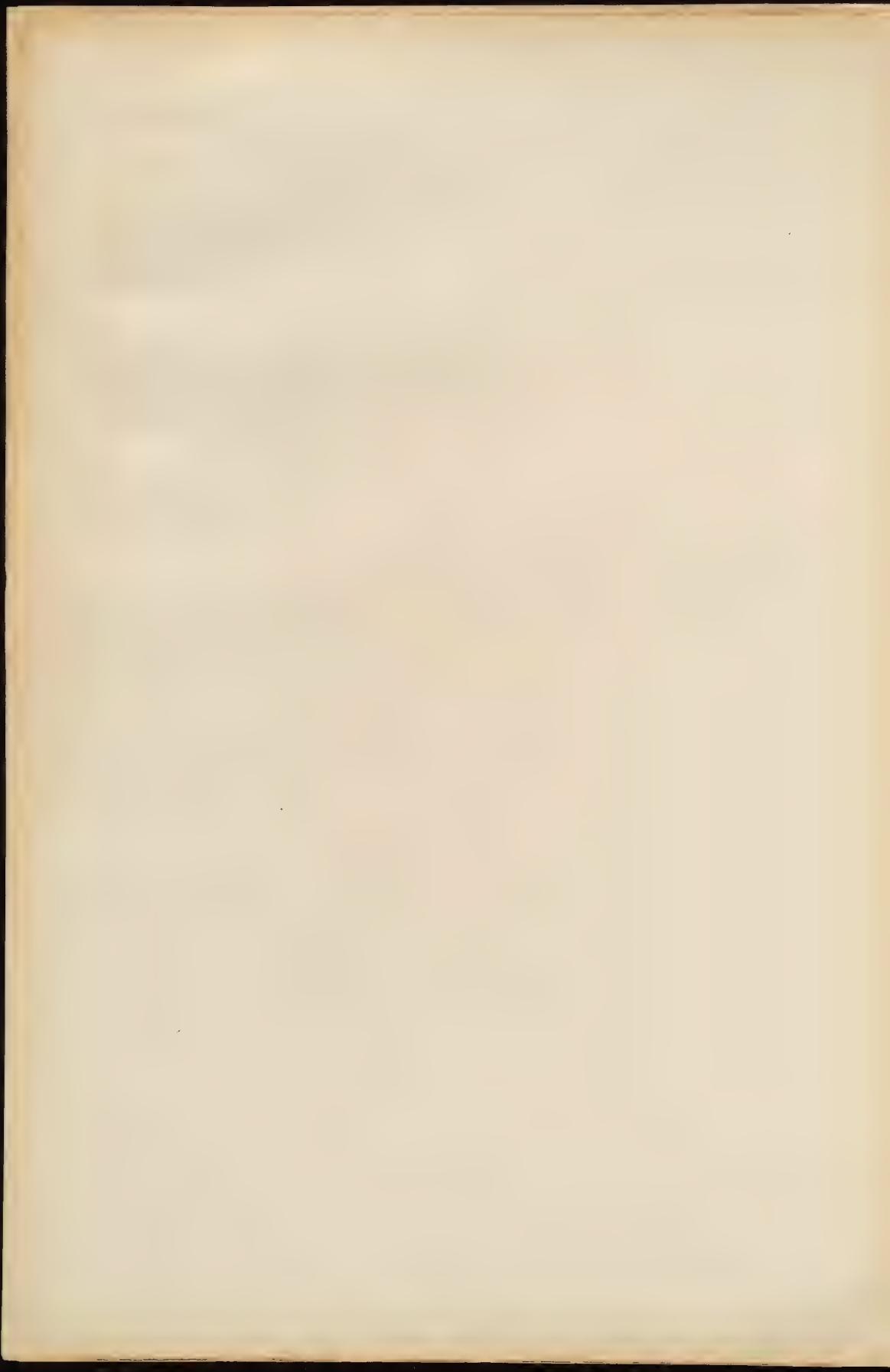
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DOMESDAY BOOK

(A. D. 1086)



PLATES 100b AND 100c. DOMESDAY BOOK, A.D. 1086

Exeter, Chapter Library No. 3,500

THESE plates represent two pages of the *Exon Domesday*, or the survey for the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. The work is of vellum, 532 leaves, measuring 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, the number of lines in a page being generally 20, but also varying from 18 to 22.

The manuscript bears every indication of being the original compilation made by the employment of several scribes in entering under the heads of tenants-in-chief extracts from the returns from different districts. It is made up of quires of various sizes and of single sheets. Many of these are not fully covered with writing, but the words *consummatum est* which are, in many instances, written on the last page of a quire, indicate that the entries in such quires are complete.

The handwriting changes, not only from quire to quire, but frequently even in a single page, on which two, three, or more scribes have made the entries. At the foot of folio 316 is the memorandum *hoc scriptis Ricardus*; and on the margin of folio 414, in another hand, *usque hoc scriptis R.* As both these notes are in a different hand from those of the text, it is evident that they cannot refer to the compilation of the present MS.; but are probably the memorandum of persons engaged on a fair copy.

As compared with the *Exchequer Domesday*, the present MS. gives fuller details, as e.g., in the enumeration of live-stock; it has variations of diacritics, and in the spelling of names; and the tenants of the time of Edward the Confessor are more generally noticed. The date of the MS. may be placed in the year 1086 or immediately after.

The plates exhibit (1) a narrow, cramped hand with lengthened strokes drawn out to a point; and (2) rounder forms of writing with shorter vertical strokes. The plate commences:

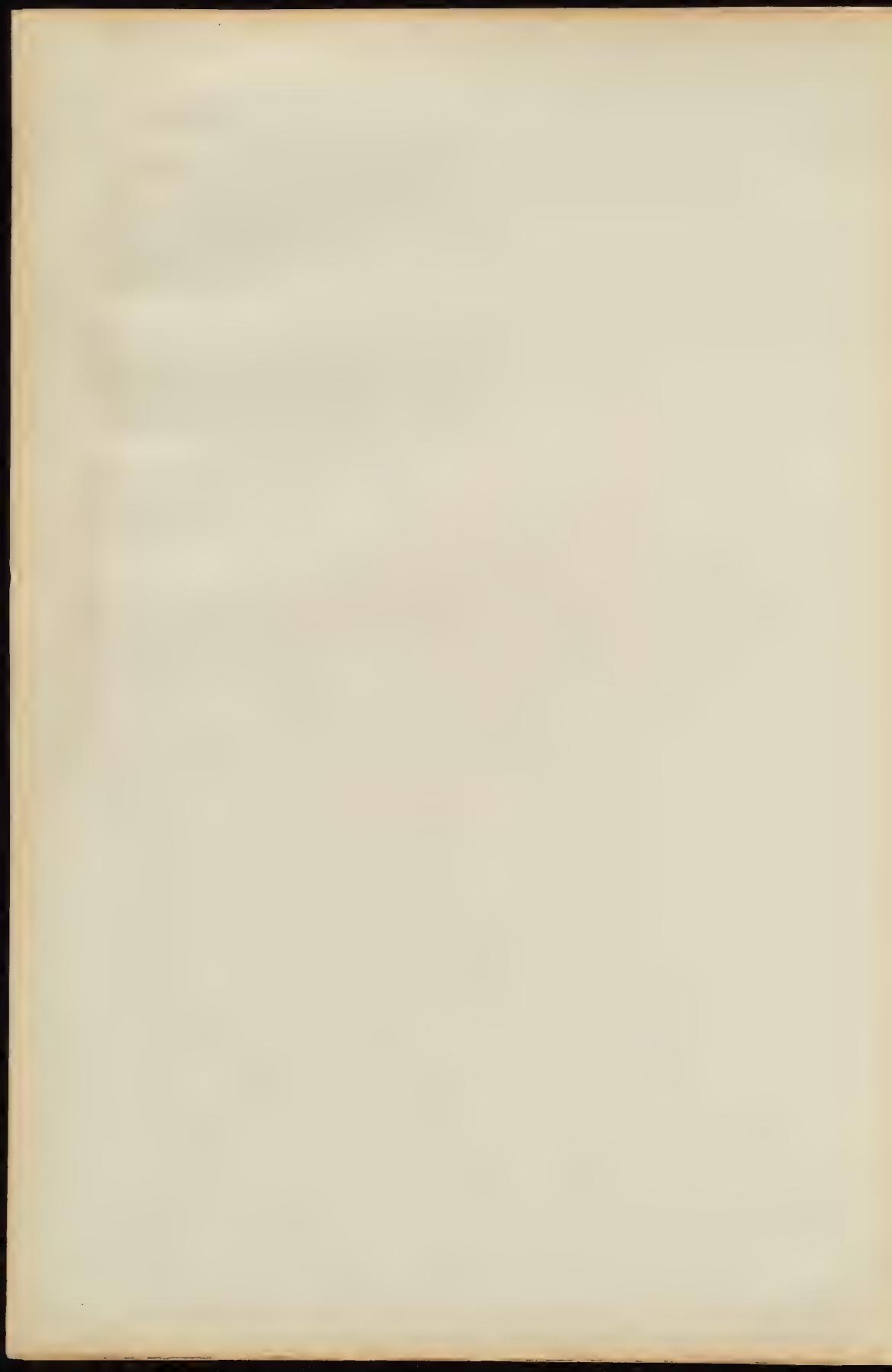
*Terre regis quas tenuit Godwinus comes. Et filii eius in Somerseta.*

This is folio 103 of the original document, and gives account of the lands belonging to the king and held by the Earl Godwin at Brompton Regis, anciently known as Bruneton, now locally known as King's Brompton, a fairly large village a few miles from Dulverton, Somerset.

The *Domesday* statement is to the effect that the king holds one estate at Bruneton, which was held by Gheda (wife of Earl Godwin) in the time of Edward the Confessor. This was assessed (gelded) at ten hides (about 1,200 acres).

In the plate Earl Godwin is described as *comes*, but at other places in the *Domesday Survey* he is styled *liber homo*, a title which appears to have been given to the most powerful nobles of the time as being independent; even Harold himself was once so designated.

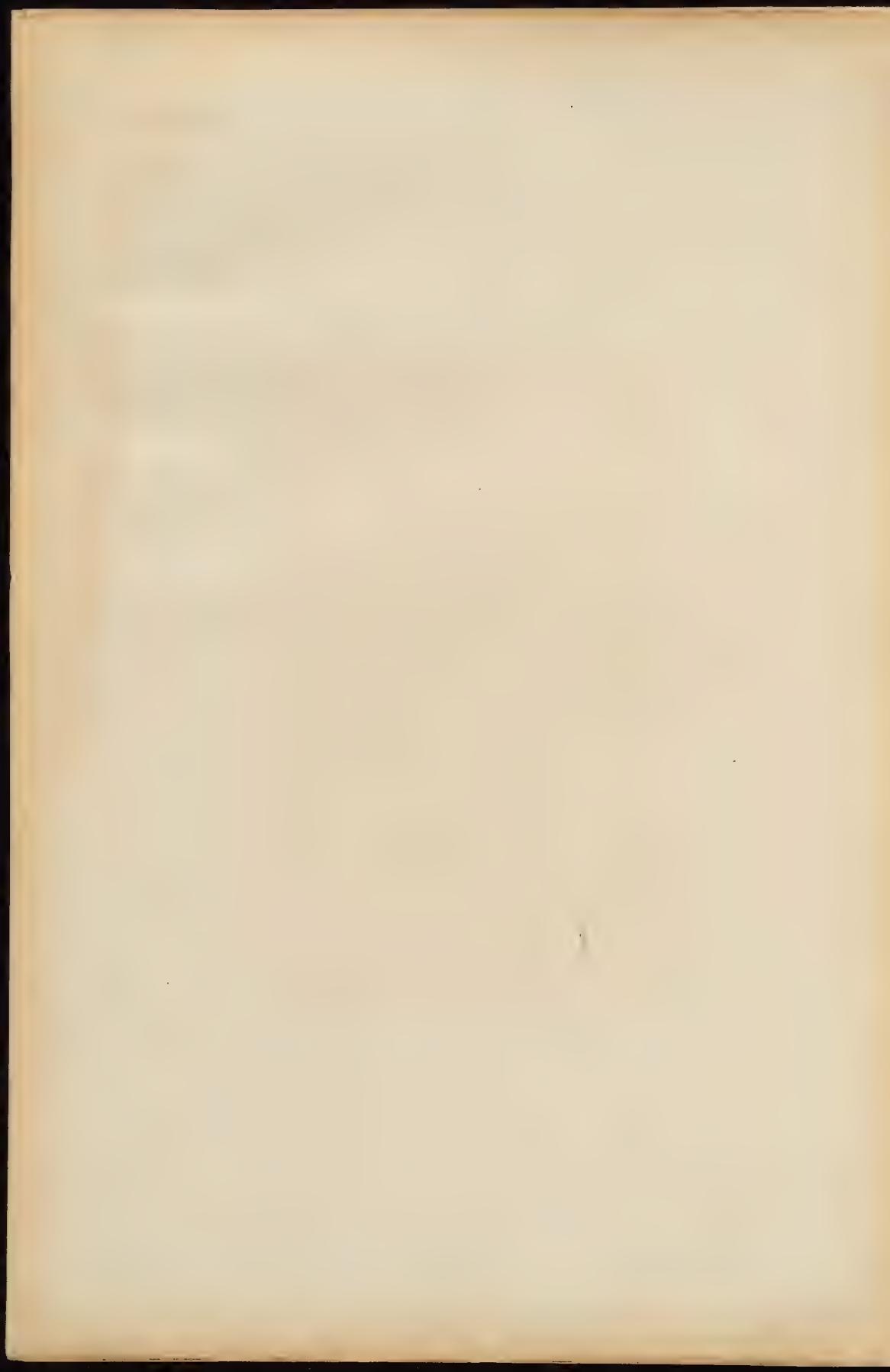
The document has been officially printed in the *Record Commission* edition of *Domesday*, 1816, volume iv.



1. 3  
TERRÆ Regis LIASTENIÆ Goda inus .iiij.  
et filij ei insuoverseta.  
Rex h[er]i cunctione que uita BRUNETOMA Giauina  
sida die qua rego f[ecit] u[er]o et reddit[us] Cild[us] p[ro]p[ter]e[us] h[ab]et  
recessu mare .v. u[er]o lido h[ab]et Rex ip[s]e bidafindu .vij. annis  
et nullum h[ab]et v[er]o .vij. annis h[ab]et Rex h[ab]et .vij. x. viij. b[ea]t[us]  
et percos[us] am[bo] v[er]o .x. annis .xxij. sit et u[er]o seruus.  
solundinos qui ualeat pannu in isto .vij. leigai mones[us]  
longu[er] .vij. t[er]cij .vij. agros f[er]et .vij. iii. Leigas pascu[us] .vij.  
.vij. laeti et reddet pannu .xvj. viij. lib[us] .xvj. sit .vij. deni.  
et alio argento .vij. ex his x. lib[us] tenet fibra .v. eletrisina derige  
et se posse[us] aperte .vij. cor[us] linea h[ab]et .vij. lib[us] .vij. ingang[us] .vij.  
lib[us] et u[er]o .vij. car[us] h[ab]et fibra in isto .vij. annis .vij.  
et percos[us] .vij. annis .vij. agros f[er]at .vij. u[er]o pannu  
et fibra de hac manione regis solutio[n]e .vij. .vij. .vij. .vij. .vij.  
et ecce de d[omi]na Anna regis dies q[ui] xxvij. et u[er]o h[ab]et p[er]f[ect]a annis  
et annis .vij. et ecce et Hugo de ualle terra de gernonensi comite  
.vij. lib[us] et car[us] .vij. et u[er]o .vij. agros f[er]at .vij. u[er]o pannu  
et fibra .vij.  
et de e[st]ate Anna regis u[er]o .vij. lib[us] .vij. et .vij. lib[us]

## EXON DOMESDAY

(A. D. 1086?)

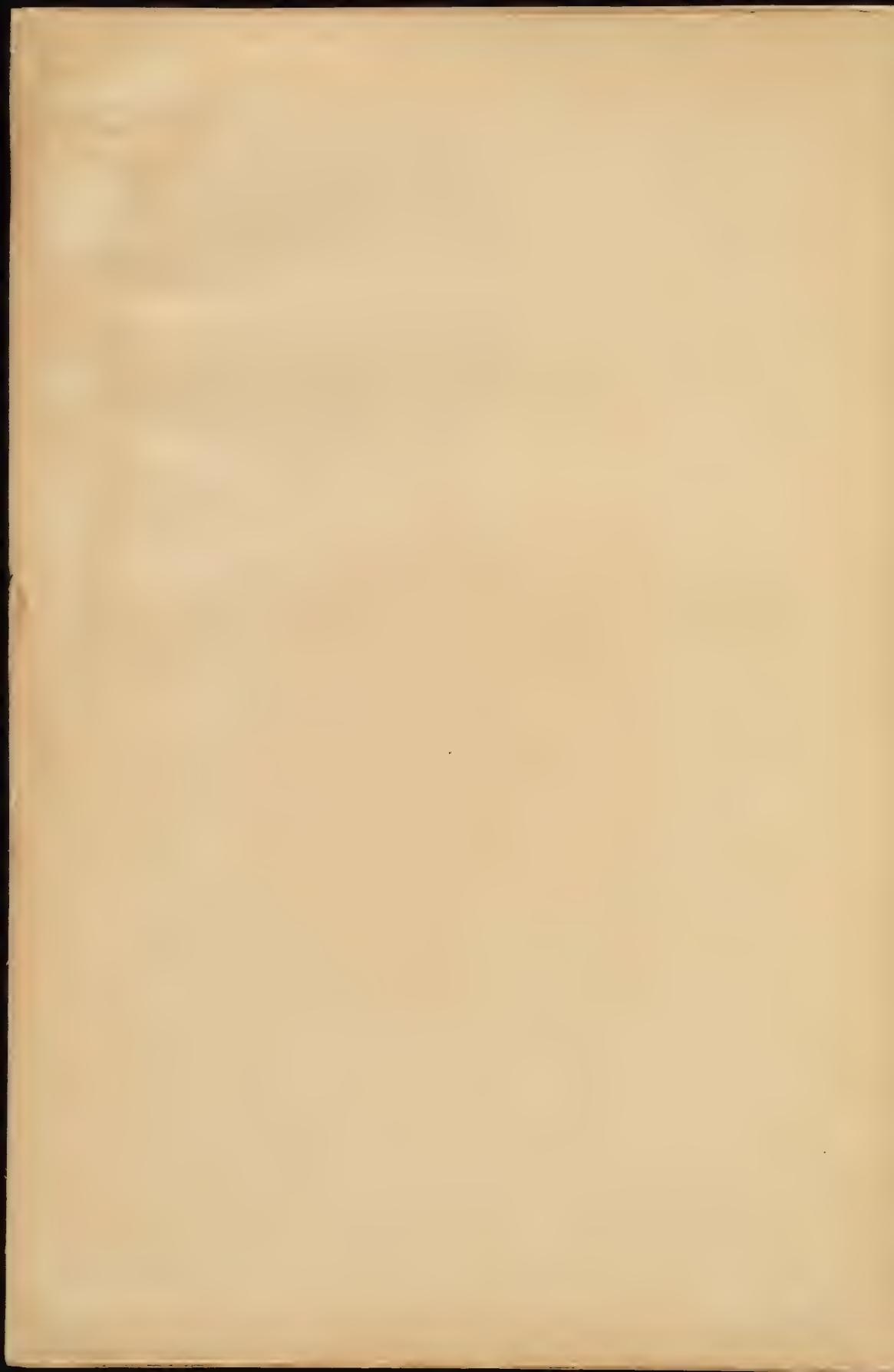


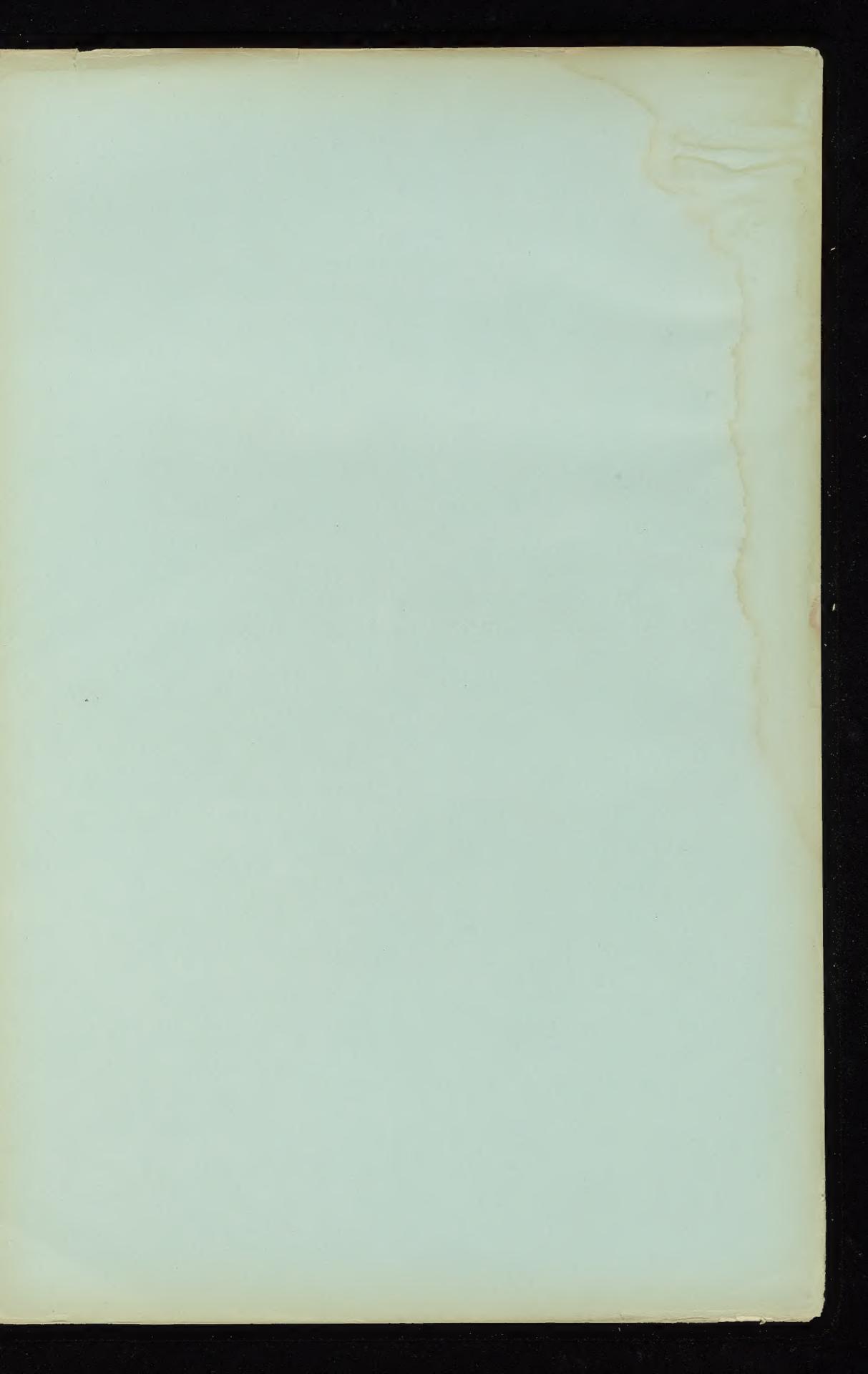
Exon. 27a, p. dom. bid. Iam, post' autem annos. viii. et. viii. R. atq.  
Ab. Iacob. R. inde iungit. & seruans. Quod. omnes. & vix  
diles. R. omnes. ad. u. bord. & seruans. & car. omnes. & car.  
nemor. & car. agri. p. & car. agri. p. & car. agri. p. & car. agri. p.  
Sap. omnes. ual. & sol. / B. h. i. man. g. uocat. Olueber. a. quoniam. Se. o.  
e. b. h. i. e. b. u. o. & e. r. e. g. g. d. b. p. u. h. d. h. a. n. e. p. s. e. c. a. r. i. h. u. n. e. c. a. m.  
R. d. a. f. d. b. v. e. r. a. d. b. Inde h. R. inde i. u. n. g. & i. n. c. a. r. i. & u. t. i. n. i. n. g.  
c. m. c. a. r. i. b. b. l. e. R. v. u. l. l. & v. u. b. o. d. & v. u. i. n. f. e. r. u. l. e. v. u. s. h. a. n. a. & c. a. u. f.  
& i. m. o. l. e. n. d. u. a. & d. e. l. e. s. & x. y. x. a. g. n. e. m. c. l. & v. e. w. a. g. p. a. x. x. v. a. g. p. a. x. x.  
& u. t. p. a. n. i. p. e. l. s. o. l. & q. a. b. r. e. c. e. p. u. a. l. e. b. s. o. l.

B. meomel. h. i. man. g. uocat. Olueber. q. t. d. Almer. ex die q. t. rei  
fuit. t. u. m. a. & m. o. r. c. u. s. & t. r. e. d. g. l. t. p. v. n. h. i. t. h. a. s. p. o. s. a. t. r. v. i. t. c. a. r.  
b. u. d. h. i. n. c. e. m. e. l. i. n. d. n. i. o. a. m. h. i. t. & v. i. n. c. a. r. i. a. u. l. t. i. n. h. i. d. & v. i.  
c. a. r. i. h. b. i. t. i. n. c. e. m. e. l. x. v. i. u. l. t. & v. i. n. b. a. t. & v. i. n. f. e. r. u. l. e. v. u. m.  
p. i. n. d. o. m. e. l. & v. i. n. d. n. i. l. & v. i. n. p. e. c. o. s. & l. c. o. n. c. & v. i. n. c. a. r. i.  
& v. i. n. c. a. r. i. g. r. e. s. n. e. m. c. l. & i. m. o. l. e. n. d. u. q. r. e. d. v. s. o. l. & v. l. b. m. i. g. s. o.  
l. a. w. p. a. s. t. e. g. & u. t. p. a. n. i. p. e. l. s. o. l. & v. i. n. c. a. r. i. h. b. i. t.  
B. in. c. e. m. e. l. h. i. n. a. g. u. o. c. a. p. e. n. c. o. n. a. p. e. n. c. o. n. a. h. a. d.  
d. l. c. a. n. c. i. c. l. t. q. d. p. e. h. i. d. & v. i. n. c. a. r. i. h. b. i. t.  
& h. i. d. & v. i. n. c. a. r. i. a. u. l. t. & h. i. d. & v. i. n. c. a. r. i. h. b. i. t. h. e. s. u. c. c. o. n. s. u. l. x. v. i. u. l. t. &

## EXON DOMESDAY

(A. D. 1086)





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